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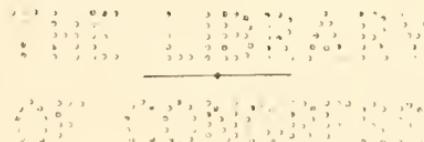
WITH A PREFACE BY

HON. D. M. DEWITT,

His business associate from 1868 to 1872,

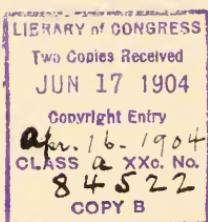
BY

WILLIAM LOUNSBERRY.



KINGSTON, N. Y.
1904.

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PREFACE.



Here we have the record of a life, spent for the most part amid the peaceful scenes of the county of Ulster, yet darting out on all sides into the world of active achievement: a life of seventy-one years along "the cool sequestered ways," yet ever busy, full of variety and in constant touch with outside events that make up history. Autobiographical in ~~the~~ strict sense of the word, it is not; but consists of a stringing together on the slightest thread of chronology of the writings and speeches of the author: an autobiography of the intellect. Such a collection might be criticised as too egotistical, were it not made, as I understand, like Shakespeare's "sugared sonnets," for distribution among "private friends."

Beginning in college days, when the author was but in his twentieth year, with three orations on subjects familiar to the young student; passing into early active life with its newspaper editorials on political topics and events of the times; it terminates the period of young manhood with an ambitious and interesting lecture on the younger Vane. Then come lucubrations growing out of the civil war in which the author at its outset was a participant; and these are succeeded by a series of miscellaneous productions, which brings us to the culminating point of manhood—signalized, in this instance, by entrance upon official life. There are no speeches made in the Assembly of the State for the year 1868, of which our author was a member; but there is an interesting supply illustrative of his career in the forty-sixth Congress (79-80), including one on the counting of the electoral votes for President and Vice-President, which well deserves and will reward perusal. We have, also, an inaugural address as Mayor of the city of Kingston and two messages to the Common Council. The volume closes with reminiscences of foreign travel—a recreation indulged in by our author after his retirement from public station.

It should be called to mind, that during this long period, that is,

from the year 1853 up to the present, the collector of these pieces was immersed in the active practice of the law; these varied productions being thrown off in the leisure moments of fifty years' steady devotion to that exacting profession. Of the countless addresses to juries, of the countless arguments before courts, there is no record here, because the one class usually perishes with the hearing, and the other crystallizes into the meagre form of briefs published in the reports. For example, there are twenty-eight cases in the appellate courts of this State, reported at length in the books, in which lawyer Lounsbury was counsel on one side or the other*.

After all, the true aim of such a collection as this is to give oneself an abiding sense of the continuity of one's life. Ordinarily, the recollection of the myriad incidents of a man's life is fragmentary and confused; and a compilation of the productions of the mind at various stages clears up the vista and builds up along the course points of vantage on which the memory may pause in making its lengthened survey, to take its bearings. In the present instance, the compiler is to be congratulated that, as the fruit of his labor, he will not only be able to realize his life of fifty years of bustle, strife, business and pleasure with greater vividness and coherency, but he will experience the pleasing consciousness of having, for others as well as himself, planted torches at points all along the devious track, for local illumination not only, but, also, to establish a permanent and continuous line of light.

D. M. DEWITT.

Kingston, March 19, 1904.

(* REPORTED CASES REFERRED TO IN THE PREFACE.)

Lounsbury v. Snyder, 31 N. Y., 514; Van Hoevenbergh v. Hasbrouck, 45 Barb., 197; Ean v. Snyder, 46 Barb., 231; Hamilton v. Wright, 37 N. Y., 502; Simmons v. Cloonan, 2 Lansing, 346; The People v. Schryver, 42 N. Y., 1; Howk v. Eckert, 2 Hun, 113; Kelley v. Fallhook Co., 4 Hun, 261; Cole v. Van Keuren, 4 Hun, 262; Howk v. Bishop, 10 Hun, 509; People *ex rel.* Van Keuren, 10 Hun, 551; Simmons v. Cloonan, 47 N. Y., 3; Fraysier v. Gibson. 15 Hun, 37; People *ex rel.* Van Keuren, 74 N. Y., 310; People v.

Willett, 36 Hun, 500; Winne v. Ulster Co. Savings Institution, 37 Hun, 349; O'Reilly v. City of Kingston, 39 Hun, 285; Gowdy v. Cordts, 40 Hun, 469; Hasbrouck v. Burhans, 42 Hun, 376; Decatur v. Goodrich, 44 Hun, 3; O'Reilly v. City of Kingston, 114 N. Y., 459; Gross v. Cloonan, 81 N. Y., 557; Schaffer v. Riseley, 44 Hun, 6, 631; Donohue v. Hummel, 17 St. Rep., 994; Donohue v. Hummel, 1 Supp., 401; Schrowang v. Sahler, 17 St. Rep., 593; Schrowang v. Sahler, 2 Supp., 140; Donohue v. Whitney, 37 St. Rep., 706; Donohue v. Whitney, 15 Supp., 622; Donohue v. Whitney, 133 N. Y., 178; New Haven Clock Co. v. Hubbard, 40 St. Rep., 654; New Haven Clock Co. v. Hubbard, 16 Supp., 125; The People v. Terwilliger, 74 Hun, 310; The People v. Terwilliger, 56 St. Rep., 255; The People v. Terwilliger, 26 Supp., 674; The People v. Terwilliger, 142 N. Y., 629; The People v. Terwilliger, 60 St. Rep., 866.

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SKETCH OF FAMILY AND SURNAME.

William Lounsbury was born December 25, 1831, at Stone Ridge, in the town of Marbletown, Ulster County, New York; his father was John Lounsbury, and his mother Sarah Peters; he had one elder brother who married Jane Crispell, and died in 1877; two elder sisters, Maria Margaret, who married John Winfield, Elizabeth, who married John N. Pink; two younger sisters, Ruth, who married John A. Elmendorf, and Sarah, who married John Gasbeck DeWitt.

His father, John Lounsbury, was the son of Richard Lounsbury, who was the son of Edward Lounsbury, a captain of the Third Regiment of the line in the Revolution, who was a son of Ritzert (Richard) Lounsbury, born 1838, who was a son of Ritzert, who was born about 1700, and moved from New York to Marbletown about 1725, and married Elizabeth Sammers; who was the son of Richard Lounsebry, 1.

Richard Lounsbury, 1, left the following children by his wife Elizabeth DuBois: Thomas, John, Michael, Henry and Richard.

Governor Phineas C. Lounsbury, President of the Merchants Exchange National Bank, is the son of Nathan, son of Enos, son of Nathan, son of Henry, son of Richard, 1.

Richard P. Lounsbury, Esq., the broker, is the son of Stephen, son of Nehemiah, son of Michael, son of Richard, 1.

"The Richard Lounsbury (of Marbletown) soldier of 1738, must have been the son (or grand) son of Richard, 1, and was in the right place and at the right time, to have been the father of Capt. Edward Lounsbury, who, without a doubt in my mind, was your great-grandfather" (Teetor).

Richard, 1, could write: we have a copy of his signature to deeds. He was probably too sick to write his name to his will.

WILL OF RICHARD LOUNSBERRY.

(Book B., page 188, White Plains Land Record.)

I, Richard Lounsberry, being sick and weak, but in perfect memory, do see cause to set my house in order as followeth. 1st., I give unto my wife Elizabeth and two eldest sonns forescore pounds in land and meadow lying off the east side of Blink Brook, and to my wife I give her bed and some small reversions of Pewter. Unto my daughter Mary, I give a piece of land lying at the other side of Beaver swamp coming down to the Swamp, two great chargers of Pewter, two Pewter platters, next to them and two lesser platters, and a flaggon and a cow, and to John I give one bed, and to my two sonns Thomas and my sonn Michael all my right at White Plains & two cows, and to my sonn Henry my right in the Raccoon ridge and all my right thereto to Laime Wills purchase, and for my sonn Richard I require his tenn pounds when his time is out according to bargain and my two year old horse & steers. Goods in my own custody. And after my death what is left after just debts are paid I do will that my three youngest sonns have it, and this to be my last will in testimony I have caused this to be made, as witness my hand the 2nd day of January, 1690.

RICHARD LOUNSBERRY.

Witness in ye presence of

his X mark.

JOHN LYON

The mark of
MARTHA X MILLS.

RICHARD LOUNSBERRY, OF MARBLETOWN, ULSTER
COUNTY, NEW YORK, 1738.

This name appears upon a roll of the foot Company of Militia of Marbletown, Ulster Co., under the command of Captain Daniel Brodhead (in a total of 80 names). See "Documentary History of New York," Vol. IV, page 151.

Captain Edward Lounsberry, Marbletown, Ulster Co., N. Y., (see Calendar of New York Historical Manuscripts, Revolutionary papers, Vol. I, page 35, and Vol. II, pages 12, 26, 34, 39, 49 and 51).

Edward Lounsbury, 1st Lieutenant, "an excellent officer, would make a very good Captain, and we recommend him as such." Upon the above recommendation by Rud Ritzema, Colonel of the Third New York Continental Forces, Lieutenant Edward Lounsbury was promoted to Captain in said Regiment November 21, 1776.

Lieutenant Edward Lounsbury was a recruiting officer for Ulster County during the Revolutionary war, appointed by the Committee of the Convention of New York.

Upon page 195, Vol. XV, "Documents relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York—The Revolution," may be seen the following: "Eighth Company, second Regiment, New York Line:—Lounsbury, Edward, Captain Lieut., in Ritzema's in 1776. Captain Nov. 21, 1776, resigned Oct. 15, 1778, Marbletown, Ulster Co.; died about 1809."

• ORIGIN OF THE SURNAME AND FAMILY OF LOUNSBERY.

This surname seems literally the "Manor or Fortress De Lond or De Land," and carries with it the fundamental significance of Sovereignty, inasmuch as at that early period in Anglo-Norman history (the 11th, 12th and 13th Centuries particularly), land owners were Land-Lords in the best sense of that compound word.

Its first appearance as the name of a locality in England was in Yorkshire. It is found in Domesday Book (compiled by William the Conqueror in 1086-87), where it is written Lodensburg. It is still the name of a town there called Londesborough, and marks the site of Dalgovitia, the name of a Roman station, known to have been there 1,000 years before the Norman Conquest of England.

WILLIAM De LONDESBURGH, A. D., 1135.

The Church of "Lonesburgh or Lonebeurg," Yorkshire, England, was granted to William De Lonesburgh by Stephen, King of England, from 1135 to 1154.

This William was also Treasurer of the Church of York. He had a brother Herbert, who had a son Herbert, who had a son

Peter, who had a son Reginald de Lonesburgh, who died A. D., 1286, leaving a son John De Lonesburg, Knight.

The above notes were taken from Suttee's Society Publications, Volume 49. In this volume may be seen the following different spellings of the surname Lounsbury or Lounsbry:

Lodensburg, Lownesburg, Leonebergh, Lowdensbrough, Lomesburgh, Lonebeurg, Lounesburgh, Londeborough, Lonesburgh, Londsburg.

[The above genealogy of Richard Lounsbry, 1, is taken from researches furnished by Henry Dudley Teetor, Lawyer and genealogist.]

Edward Lounsbry had by his first wife Elizabeth Kater four children: John, Richard, Jacob and Catharine. He also had by second wife Janette Dubois seven children: Louis, Henry Dubois, Ebenezer, Philip, Elizabeth, Nancy, Jane.

Richard Lounsbry, the son of Edward, had six children: John, Peter, Richard, Maria, Esther, Elizabeth.

John Lounsbry, the son of Richard, had six children: Maria Margaret, Richard, Elizabeth, William, Ruth, Sarah.

William Lounsbry, the son of John, had by his first wife Catherine Eaman, one child, Catharine; and by his second wife, Alice VanBuren, one child, Elizabeth Adeline.

[Burhans Family, by Samuel Burhans.]

William Lounsbry, born 25th December, 1831, son of Sarah Peters, born 9th July, 1796, married 1824. John Lounsbry, born 14th April, 1803. Sarah Peters was daughter of William Peters, baptized 24th January, 1773, died 8th February, 1814, married Margaret Hasbrouck. Dr. William Peters was son of Maria VanWagener, baptized 29th June, 1754, married by state license dated 26th November, 1772, Dr. Benjamin Peters. Maria VanWagener was daughter of Elizabeth Burhans, baptized 24th August, 1718, married (first, 5th October, 1730, Peter Osterhoudt), second, Johannes VanWagener, born 18th Nov., 1722. Elizabeth Burhans was daughter of Barent Burhans, baptized April 24, 1681, married Margaret Matthysen, baptized 14th January, 1684. Barent Burhans was son of Jan Burhans who arrived in America 16th April, 1663, in ship "Bonte Koe," married Helena Trap-

hagen. Jan Burhans was son of Jacob Burhans, who came to America about 1660. In March 28, 1660, he appears as a soldier in the Netherlands' service in the Esopus; name of wife unknown.

WILLIAM LOUNSBERY.

[From *Life Sketches, 1868, N. Y. State Officers.*]

Mr. Lounsbury represents the First Assembly District of the county of Ulster. He was born in the town of Marbletown, in that county, December 25, 1831. His paternal ancestors are of Welch descent, and some of them were among the earliest settlers of Ulster county. Nearly all of the name now living in this country trace their origin to the Ulster family. A great uncle (Colonel John Lounsbury) was a member of the Senate, and of the Council of Appointment, during the gubernatorial administration of De Witt Clinton; another great uncle (Col. Ebenezer Lounsbury) was a member of the Senate in 1838, '39. Both served in the war of 1812, in which they acquired their military rank. His father, John Lounsbury, was a member of the Assembly in 1853, and was classed as a Hunker, in the political divisions of the Democracy of that period.

Mr. Lounsbury has enjoyed excellent educational advantages, which he has not failed to improve. He graduated, in 1851, at Rutgers College, obtaining the third honor of the graduating class. He studied law at the Law School of the University of the city of Albany, and was admitted to practice in 1853; and immediately opened an office in the village of Kingston. By his careful preparation of, and faithful attention to, the causes at first entrusted to him, he soon obtained the confidence of the public and a handsome share of business. About two years since he entered into copartnership with Hon. Erastus Cooke, of Kingston, and the law firm of Cooke & Lounsbury now occupies a commanding position at the Ulster bar, and does a very large share of its business.

Mr. Lounsbury has been connected with the editorial fraternity, having been from 1857 to 1861, associated with Mr. S. S. Hommel in the proprietorship of the Ulster Republican—now the Kingston Argus—then, as now, the recognized organ of the Democracy of Ulster county. This was a period of sharp political controversy, and Mr. Lounsbury, in such intervals of leisure

as were allowed him by his profession, entered into the contests of that period with spirit and zeal. His editorial articles, like his efforts at the bar, were marked by smoothness and elegance of style, clearness, directness and force, and added greatly to the effectiveness of that journal, as a party organ. Mr. Lounsbury is no mere slave to his profession. He finds time to glean in the broad fields of general literature, and hence he naturally became a member of the Ulster County Historical Society, and took great interest in preparing papers to be read before it. The same literary tastes led him to accept invitations to make addresses before the Kingston Literary Associations, and the Ulster County Agricultural Society. All of these literary productions exhibit fine scholarly tastes and attainments; a clear and practical habit of thought, and great felicity of expression.

With this large and varied experience in law, politics and literature, backed by a laudable ambition and an ardent temperament, Mr. Lounsbury naturally became a leading member in the present Assembly. He was selected as a candidate by the Democracy of his party with great unanimity, and was elected by the largest majority ever given in the District for the same office.

His abilities were appreciated at Albany as well as at home, in the organization of the Committees of the Assembly. He is chairman of the Judiciary Committee, a position of great responsibility. He is also a member of the Committee on Claims. He gives the closest attention to legislative matters, and evidently intends to make himself entirely familiar with the interests and needs of the Empire State. He is fond of social enjoyments that partake of a literary character, is well fitted to take part in conversation, and greatly delights in a good joke or a witty repartee.

FIFTEENTH DISTRICT.

[From Directory 46th Congress.]

Counties.—Greene, Schoharie and Ulster.

William Lounsbury of Kingston, was born at Stone Ridge, New York, December 25, 1831; graduated at Rutgers College in 1851; attended the Law Department of the New York University

at Albany, and was admitted as an attorney and counsellor in 1853, and has since been engaged in the practice of law; was Commissary of the Twentieth Regiment of New York Militia, with the rank of First Lieutenant, during its three months' service; was a member of the New York Assembly in 1868, and Chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary; was elected Mayor of the City of Kingston in March, 1878, for the term of two years; and was elected to the Forty-sixth Congress as a Democrat, receiving 13,680 votes against 11,442 votes for George S. Nichols, Republican, 3,524 votes for John R. Erkson, National, 140 votes for J. H. Coutant, Prohibitionist, and 49 scattering votes.

(From Reminiscences of College Days.)

AN ORATION

Delivered at the Anniversary of the Rutgers College Bible Society, May 26th, 1851.

THE BIBLE THE BEST GUIDE OF THE STATESMAN.

By William Lounsbury of Stone Ridge, N. Y.

It is a strange and prevalent error, that the claims and interests of Christianity, belong solely to the clerical profession. If at this time it was heard that this nation was to be deprived of its religion, every patriot and statesman would start from his seat, trembling for the interests of his country and his liberty. Though all are convinced of the bulwarks, that the truths of Christianity and the Bible, have thrown around the institutions of freedom, yet few attend to its precepts or aid in its diffusion. The jurist, when he has enriched his mind in every legal form, and becomes skilled in ingenious craft and refined policy, thinks himself complete in his profession, and leaves this volume, the source of every sound law, to the undisturbed possession of those whose peculiar calling devotes them to its study. The Legislator, when he has stored himself with the laws of antiquity, when he has become practised in the intrigues of diplomacy, and prepared to the usual idea of an enlightened politician, will satisfy his conscience and meet the favor of men by prudently and warily acting up to this crafty line of policy. Not one thought will he and the world give to that source, which alone can supply and regulate the system they have started.

Man is ever ready to trust to his own powers. He supposes,

that by his ingenuity, which has surmounted the greatest difficulties, laws can be devised, that will hold the passions in check, and regulate by a perfect system, all our actions with one another. But experience has shown fully that if the fear of God be eradicated from a community, selfishness and sensuality will absorb the whole man. Appetite, knowing no restraint, will trample in scorn on the restraints of law, and the wisest forms of human polity will become, like a rope of sand, to be washed away by every storm that agitates the mind of community. The heathen nations of the most remote periods, perceived the utter impossibility of regulating the actions of the multitude by mere human wisdom. Ancient Egypt, with all her philosophers, was obliged to acknowledge a higher power, upon which to base and enforce her laws. In every heathen land, we find them praying for protection and assistance and sacrificing to the Gods of their superstition; and though ignorant of him, who upholdeth all things by the word of his power, they still perceived and acknowledged a higher authority upon which they founded their efforts of government. We now have the revelation without which antiquity in all its wisdom failed to institute the true principles of Liberty, and happy is that people, who profit by its precepts.

The Bible is the foundation of political morality, and whatever of freedom, whatever of patriotism, unalloyed by selfishness, we find in the world is derived from its consecrated pages.

The science of morality has been always one of interest—one in which the greatest minds of every age have developed their noble powers, with the most unbounded freedom. Man impelled by the passions alone would be the most helpless of all creatures; and to restrain these passions have been the worthy objects of the best and wisest men. Socrates, Seneca and Cicero, for this, made the best efforts of their lives, and by the strength of their characters, did contribute what power man can wield to keep the spirit of benevolence from being smothered, amid the tumults of the world. By such precepts and examples the weight of eminence was thrown on the side of virtue, and much that was noble was preserved even among heathens, uncorrupted by the passions. These bright specimens of intellectual greatness show where, among the ancients, we are to find the perfection of art with peace and happiness. Beyond their influence was darkness, ignorance and the miseries of a savage life.

But a more powerful torch than philosophy was to illumine the moral world. The truth of Christianity were to cast a ray of heaven born light over the nations, diffusing the blessings of freedom, and dispersing the ignorance which had hung for ages on the minds of men. When the light broke upon the world, all became brilliant within its radiance. To its rising greatness principalities and powers pinned their declining strength. Depravity hung near its glare, and strived to cover its deformity with a moral splendor. Thus crushed by union with princes and evil spirits, the light of moral truth went out from the world, and hid itself from the sight of men in the cloister and confines of the mountains. But the Reformation again woke the world from its utter moral ignorance, idolatry and superstition. Quickened by the pure illumination of the Bible, man has continued to improve in his social existence from that time to the present. We feel justly proud of our age, and under the influence of Christianity the people of the 19th century despise a comparison with former times, even with the brightest periods of antiquity.

And where now do we find the greatest happiness? As among the ancients the examples of the wise and good marked their degree of civilization. So now, where Bible truth and Bible morals are spreading abroad their light, we only find true happiness and prosperity.

We will refer to Europe. See the difference that has there been produced between the institutions that are under the light of the Bible, and those yet loaded with infidelity and superstition. It forms a nationality stronger than languages or difference of climate. It separates them more effectually than if divided by the width of the Ocean. Look at France and England. What is it that has made the difference between these two peoples? They are separated only by a narrow strait—rapidity of communication has almost made the one territory verge into the other—and yet the habits of the people mark the line of separation so plainly, that it is impossible for the most careless to pass it without observation. In one an air of suspicion will continually come over you. The scrutiny of officers; the strictness of law, bring in an uncertain dread of some danger. You feel the pangs of servitude. In the other the air is free. You feel secure; no officers gather round you besieging for a pass; no suspicious eyes

are continually directed towards your movements. You are in a country of firm and certain laws.

There is certainly a moral influence that has produced this difference. The seeds of infidelity and superstition, sown early in the minds of the French by a poisonous literature; by the sway of popery, has defeated every effort for Liberty, has reduced the spirit of freedom; kept the mind chained in a blind and bigoted prejudice or a careless or desperate sensuality. And thus while England has grown justly proud in her unshaken liberty, and is extending her empire over the seas to every quarter of the world; the French have wasted their strength in the strifes of civilwars, and even now, while they have succeeded in establishing the names and forms of a Republic, so little is she placed on the true foundation of freedom, that these very forms seem but the turning pivot from which she may slide into despotism or anarchy.

This is the difference which has been made in the prosperity of these old rival powers. There are other nations showing a like difference.

See Protestant Switzerland standing in the midst of a desert of superstition—a bright spot of liberty among mental darkness and physical servitude. All around have been agitated by the strifes of civil war, and the clamors of a dissatisfied populace. Yet the land, where Tell raised the voice of freedom has rested secure and undisturbed in the possession of liberty. With the German Confederacies on the north and the Italian States in the south, we might suppose the sound of their cannon rolling along the Alps, would have aroused the martial spirit of the Helvitian. But the memory of the Reformers has not yet died in the mountains; and though strife and civil commotion have agitated the turbulent spirits of her neighbors, Switzerland has maintained a perfect neutrality.

Look now at Italy, which has nourished the poet and painter, where stand the proudest monuments of antiquity—where free as water ran the blood of the early martyrs. While the world has grown proud in the improvements in art—in new light in science, Italy has descended by rapid strides from her former greatness. While improvements have marked every branch that could contribute to the pleasure of man—while the elements have been converted into engines of use, the fetid swamps in Italy, that were

reduced to cultivation in the time of the Caesars, (see "De Arte Poetica," line 63), have again returned to their ancient loathsome-ness, giving out anew the noisome pestilence. At the door of this deluded people, has the Bible often plead for entrance. But they are loocked in the cold embrace of superstition and are unwilling to look through the prison bars of their mental servility, to see the bright sunlight, contrasting with the gloom of their dungeon. How poor are all her cities compared with their former splendor. Rome once the proudest city of the world, where the luxuries of every nation had all been concentrated, has nothing now of that greatness but broken columns and fallen temples. Through imperial Rome, once marched the conquering armies of the Caesars. Over the fields of Italy have since marched the armies of the Pope, consuming all in their path. Through the streets of Rome once filed the magnificent rites of the ancient heathen worship; through its streets has since paraded the scarlet livery of the Pope. But in all this pageant, there is nothing but the squalid smile of poverty and a vacant stare at gaudy colors, where pride and power, once could give the semblance of a reverence to an empty superstition.

Greatly has Rome declined from its former splendor, and if a Patrician from the Court of Augustus could now arise from the scattered ruins of his Sepulchre, what a sad change would meet his vision! Even the splendors of the Romish worship, would seem but an empty mummery—a horrid imitation of his once proud city and sacred mythology.

Many such examples might be given but they are unnecessary. It is plainly evident that the Bible has caused the difference—has drawn a line between Christianity and idolatry more distinctly than the light and shade of an eclipse that crosses the disk of the sun.

How strange that this Bible; the mighty engine, that has revolutionized the world; that has stood by the improvements and leading events of every age; that has caused the revival of classical literature, the diffusion of knowledge, a greater extension of moral and civil rights, should receive but a passing attention, from those who profess to be guided by the high and noble influence of truth. We live in an age when experience and intellectual efforts have cast a lustre of perfection over the science

of political ethics. Moralists have searched among the philosophy of the ancients; they have handled the pure and elevated maxims of Socrates and Seneca; but after their wearisome chase through these works of human intellect, they have turned to the Bible, the only perfect system of morality. In its pages alone is discovered the guide, which the mind has sought in vain through all ages. It broke upon the heathen world like a meteor, taking all by surprise, casting to the ground the maxims, which years had ripened to a seeming perfection.

When that sentiment of Terence so new to the heathen mind was uttered in the Roman theatre, "Homo sum, humani nihil a me alienum puto," the audience was so struck by its novelty and moral greatness that they rose as by one impulse from their seats and broke forth in the loudest applause.

But how much more grand and noble was the precept, which fell from the lips of Christ as an humble peasant: "Love thy neighbor as thyself." In this was concentrated the chief good of all morality. From this starting point light opened upon the world. Man was taught his simple, perfect duty to his fellow, "Love thy neighbor as thyself." How complete the instruction! How stamped with the impress of Deity! crafty or ambitious policy is opened to our views—no path of expediency, that would mark a man of this world. Christ did not advise submission till the changing times might afford a favorable chance for revolution. But departing from that custom that had drenched the world in blood, he comprehended the whole duty of submission in this simple precept.

"Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and unto God the things that are God's."

Such is perfect morality, and by its side the maxims of human wisdom sink into merited insignificance.

Upon these instructions—this morality alone—can be founded the prosperity and happiness of a nation. Had Spain been guided by the Bible instead of a bigoted fury to spread Papal supremacy; had she pursued that simple instruction, towards her unsophisticated neighbors of Mexico and Peru, her chivalric and daring sons might have been to this day, the supreme rulers of the sea.

Had French kings been more honest and less crafty in execut-

ing their promises, the vine hills of France would this day have echoed to 'the glad sound of Freedom.'

Had benevolence more than ambition actuated the Sovereigns of Europe; had they loved more the prosperity of Peace, then the splendors of War, there would have flourished a garden luxuriance where now is desolation, ignorance and servitude.

But times are changing and will continue in their onward progress. Let us not be behind in receiving the upward spirit. The glory which has hung round the names of Alexander and Bonaparte, has been divested of its magic, and behind in horrid characters plainly appears their cruel enormities, while the names of Washington, Quincy, the Adamses, will ever be enshrined in the hearts of men. The day is at hand when the greatest glory, the aim of ambition, will be embodied in these noble words:

"He lived; he died, a Christian Statesman."

VALEDICTORY ORATION

of the Graduating Class of the Year 1851.

Delivered Before the Peithessopian Society of Rutgers College,
June 19, 1851.

THE AMERICAN ALUMNUS.

By William Lounsbury of Stone Ridge, N. Y.

It has often been said that men are never so important in their own eyes, as when they are just leaving the doors of their College and their Alma Mater to make their first essays in life. The broad world lies all before them, and with a happy confidence, they can survey its extensive range and mark many a brilliant road, opened for their rapid and easy advancement. If ever man feels strong for a journey, it is when he stands, in the refreshing breeze of morning, upon an eminence, and sees before him the route he is to pursue through the day, and the calm place of rest in the evening. He starts with vigor and eagerly dashes aside the difficulties of the road, till the heat of noon-day and multiplying fatigue have blasted the fair confidence of morning and reduced the youthful impulse to more sober realities. It is upon such an eminence, that we are now standing. Before us lies the path we are to pursue during life, illumined by youthful hopes, smoothed by the reliance of power. The world is to us surely a fair prospect. Spread as it is before us in all its attractiveness, it must certainly be allowed, that we have a right to this fancied importance. It is the nature of strength and youth to look with confidence upon the labors it has to undertake, and now, in the vigor of opening manhood, proud in bodily strength, we would be dull indeed to look with indifference or dread upon the business of the world, just opening before us. We have

energies that have never been damped by the cares of the world; we have faculties untried and eager for action; we have the natural impatience to be at some work, which will mark us as men. The field lies before us in which we are to commence action; it seems loaded with fruit ready for the reaper—with an abundant harvest waiting for our hands to gather. Wherever we turn, there are roads laid open that only seem to require the hand of diligence to yield abundant success.

Such is our situation, with everything transpiring to make us confident and invigorate us with pleasant anticipations. We are really strong, and let no one check the exuberance of hope that the toils of life and increasing difficulties will soon enough destroy. A slight degree of romance is congenial to the manly spirit and properly tempers the inactivity of nature and the calculating movements of Reason. It is always the part of genius to illumine the path in front with confidence in its own powers, and when difficulties would make it despair, it scorns to disappoint its fair laid hopes. It is stimulated by obstacles, and rises prouder in self reliance with every exertion.

Youth, health, strength, confidence are all ours, and we are for the world. What brighter triumph can be imagined than this season of life.

But besides this happy time of youth and hope there are other accidents conspiring to our advantage. We are American youth. A free and happy country is before us. With talents and application; with health and temperance, we can all tread with firm and unbroken step the path to fame and virtuous ambition. Our country makes our situation important, our prospects brilliant. There is no despotism to check rising genius; no fear of power to oppose the clear developments of mind. All places are open—all invite our attention and promise success.

With these advantages, which we derive from nature and our country, it would be strange if we owed them no duties. We are not so entirely in their possession that they need not cultivation and protection. We do owe duties to ourselves and our country, and now as we stand here let us decide how we will perform them as returns for the benefits we receive at their hands. What pursuit shall we follow in life?

This question has agitated the mind in every age. It is no

less perplexing now. The fable of Hercules has lost none of its force and meaning coming down to our own times. The deceiving manners of vice have as yet lost none of their beguiling influences. Virtue now as in the day of Hercules has most admirers. But vice has yet her crowd of followers, lured on by her deceitful appearance. This hero of the ancient mythology is placed in the fable in the position in which we are now standing to choose between two roads—on the one side leading to virtuous actions and happiness; on the other side to vice and misery. “Oh, what noble minds are here o'erthrown.” How many unlike Hercules have failed to choose the road to virtue, and listened to the song of the Syren until she transformed hem into beasts.

In view of the duties we owe to ourselves and our country how important is the decision of the question each one of us has now to decide for himself. What road shall we pursue? What position in the world shall we occupy?

A favorite road draws many into its tangled mazes. Seduced by attractive promises, flushed by transient success crowds invade the thoroughfare to political power. An eager throng of young men with a “vaulting ambition which o'erleaps itself” are now pursuing with mad fury the laurels of place and office. It is no doubt an unhappy proclivity for the youthful mind and an unhappy tendency of our political institutions that they draw a crowd of unnaturally excited and ambitious youth into the political arena. Experience has fully demonstrated, that age alone can give weight and certainty or the hopes of perpetuity to our institutions. What consistency can be predicted of the mad party spirit which is now fomented by the rash intrusion of young and inexperienced men into the management of our political machinery? What hopes of the continued prosperity of our beloved country can be entertained when the reins of government fall into untried hands. It is too true in politics that “Fools rush in where Angels fear to tread.” Let us learn rather to temper our activity so that we do not become rash and ungovernable. While pursuing our course upward and onward let us turn from the dangerous defiles that will at last lose you in the untracable mazes of the mountain forest. See as an illustration, the man of the Alps. He pursues his course in the bleak winds from the top of those Alpine hills and is seen far up the craggy peak,

contending with the storm of snow and sleet. Not the sound of the cold blast, not the enticing voice of the maiden could convince him that it was beyond his power to cross the mountain that cold night. Beyond was blazing the fire in the quiet hearth of his home and no voice of entreaty nor sound of the tempest could turn him from his course. The rash youth was found, however, by the friar of Saint Bernard, with his firm spirit quenched in death, with his banner quietly floating in the morning sun, still showing his unconquerable resolve, "Ex-celsior." Here was a noble activity converted into rashness, and the noblest impulse of the heart leading to its own destruction.

This distinction should ever be kept before the mind of youth—they are naturally rash and impetuous and rush without thought into dangers and difficulties.

When, therefore, you feel patriotic, and burn for the service of your country, do not consider that you will accomplish your object best by plunging madly into polities. That is more properly the province of older men with ideas and principles fully developed by experience.

The management of our political machinery, in spite of the levity that has been thrown around it by the participation of thoughtless men is a graver subject than it appears to the casual observer, or to many of those who have rashly thrown themselves into its mazes. And though we see a few who have succeeded by rushing into the busiest scenes, and repeating a few phrases popular with the masses, yet ten times the number have failed and only made their escape with loss of character and honor.

Youth draws pleasant pictures of popularity and pursues it frequently with a strange severity of purpose. It is indeed "a beauteous garden, but by vice maintained," and with all the paint of early fancy, it is plainly evident that the man, who launches out into party strife and political gambling, must do it at the expense of honor and truth. He has commenced a voyage which only a master pilot can terminate with safety. If he be a skillful seaman, he can guide himself clear from the rocks and whirlpools that lie in his way, if not he will run a wandering but certain course to destruction.

AN ORATION

ENGLISH SALUTATORY.

Delivered at Rutgers College Commencement, July 23, 1851, by
William Lounsbury of Stone Ridge, N. Y.

Gentlemen of the Board of Trustees:—It becomes us to address our first salutations to you: for under your care and patronage we have been instructed and prepared for the activities of life. It is with no ordinary emotions of gratitude, that we welcome you on this occasion. Your earnest and untiring efforts for our comfort, as well as improvement, have united in this institution the first social and literary advantages: have made this a place where we can indulge the pleasures of taste and the finer feelings of the soul, while we expand the mind with truths of science and the wide field of literature. You have surrounded these abodes of study with objects of ornament and thus largely contributed to increase the pleasures of our academic life. With devoted enthusiasm you have employed your influence that this College should maintain its equal standing with the old and time honored of this country; that it should have a name and reputation worthy of its real merits. You have well succeeded. And it is a just reward for your exertions, that this institution, fostered by your diligence, can claim an equality with others revered for age and their connection with our country's early history. We have the predictions of men in the sunset of life and the exertions of active patrons to give us reasons to say your labors have not been in vain and that this College will flourish a safeguard to liberty, and an honor to all who have received its instructions and united for its support. You have this assurance to satisfy your declining years and guarantee the honest appreciation of your actions by a grateful posterity.

Mr. President: We have received the first fruits of your usefulness and devoted zeal in advancing the interests of this College. The announcement of your name to fill the chair of our late and worthy President was hailed by all with joy. Your connection with the movements of philanthropy in this country and your great success in other spheres of action, filled our minds with an ardent desire to see the remainder of your days devoted to our favorite institution. Our wishes have been largely gratified. We salute you with grateful regard for the kind offices we have received at your hands; for your devoted efforts for our improvement; for your zealous care over our intellectual and moral education. We feel assured that we depart for the world with your best wishes and earnest supplications for our success. We wish you fullness of years in your labors of love and the peaceful end of a satisfied conscience. Like as a shock of corn cometh in his season.

Gentlemen of the Faculty: We greet you no more by the name of teacher, but your example and the influence of your actions are not so easily effaced. In reality we are still the scholars of your precepts and though years and seas may separate us, the remembrance of your instructions will yet tell upon our thoughts and be incentives to new exertions. There is a grandeur belonging to the virtuous teacher that is superior to the usual forms of moral excellence. While others labor for the present the fruits of his efforts will last for ages. While the good deeds of some terminate with their lives, his character is still transmitted through others with increasing influence. As our respected and loved teachers, we salute you and thank you for your generous and self sacrificing efforts for our improvement. The jealousy of authority has now ceased, and we can look with real thankfulness upon your reproofs, and see the real value of your instructions. You have taught us that the merchandise of wisdom is better than the merchandise of silver and the gain thereof than fine gold. May her right hand extend to you length of days and her left hand ever lead you in the ways of pleasantness and the paths of peace.

Classmates: This brilliant scene is our introduction to the world. Is it indeed a subject of congratulation that we are now to launch on the sea of life? We know this day is one

of triumph to the youthful heart, and we greet you to its full enjoyment. As a ship spreads her canvas and bends gayly to the breeze of the opening voyage, so do we look with gladness upon the fair promises of this *gay* scene. We know that beyond there are storms and troubles, but the bright day of our opening life shall be one of joy. Let no bitter thoughts mingle with parting. Let the brightness of this day nerve us for the difficulties that may afterwards arise. Let the applause we now receive, so grateful to youthful hope, direct our thoughts upwards to aspire.

"For a name and a fame above the blight
of Earthly breath
Beautiful—beautiful and bright
In life and death."

When the phantoms of earthly greatness and its applauses shall have vanished, may our thoughts be fixed upon the glory that is never dimmed by vicissitudes of fortune, but remains ever perfect as the fountains of light.

Ladies and Gentlemen of New Brunswick: Our salutations to you are mingled with real gladness. The interest you have always manifested in our welfare and your presence on this occasion, are tokens of your regard worthy our warmest gratitude. In your society we have had the welcome of generous hospitality; and the advantages of your intercourse have made our residence here both pleasant and instructive. You can be assured that the kindness you have ever exhibited has not been unappreciated. Connected with this institution and its fond associations will ever be cherished the bright remembrance of New Brunswick and its citizens. By our intercourse with you we have still kept bright our connection with the world, and have not forgotten that our destiny was beyond ourselves—that we have a broader field of action than our personal interests. Our studies have thus instead of cherishing asceticism and a disgust for the world, made the objects of life more dear and united us closer to its practical duties. In this way you have framed our minds for the world and laid before us a bright road for the future. We greet you here at our entrance upon Life. We know by your examples and our own experience that it is a stern reality. As we start into its doubtful mazes we are not enter-

ing upon fairy grounds—as carpet knights in the gay tournament. The bright eyes of this assembly will not always reign influence. Life is real; Life is earnest, and to meet its stern requirements we cannot live always in these gay scenes.

There is an influence attached to us that must be exerted for the world. We go from these halls of literature to make a part of the character and progress of society. If corruption shall ever settle upon our institutions; if civilization and advancement in our free and happy land are ever turned backward to their sources, and these bright promises ever covered with primitive darkness, it will be caused by the influence of literary men in perverting and debasing an enlightened public opinion. The safety of our country is not based on laws. The nations of the east for six hundred years maintained their independence until a corrupt taste and a corrupt literature, without any important change of government, destroyed their ancient organizations and left no vestige of their former greatness. This will be the end of our happy land if education is once perverted to administer to the depraved tastes and passions of men. We know that a pure literature is our country's strong defender. Let us then act worthy of our high responsibilities, and show when the age of our fathers shall have grown in a good antiquity, that this country is yet strong in its primitive Union—that the spirit of Liberty is invincible.

LEADING EDITORIALS.

By William Lounsbury, Selected from the Ulster Democrat.

INTRODUCTORY.

(December 7, 1854.)

The readers of the Democrat are doubtless prepared, by the short, yet comprehensive, farewell of its former proprietor, contained in the last number, to receive, without surprise, the introductory of his successor. By referring to the head of this issue, it will be remembered, by those who know us, that we received our instruction in the mysteries of the craft, from our predecessor, the originator of this paper; who, being compelled by bodily afflictions to retire from the editorial chair, which for the past eight years, he has filled with so much honor to himself, and satisfaction to his patrons, now resigns it to his former pupil. And here, at the threshold of his future duties, the apprentice of former years begs leave, publicly, to acknowledge his indebtedness to his friendly instructor, for the faithfulness and kindness with which he imparted that knowledge, which will now be called into requisition.

In thus attempting the work before us, we feel that we are undertaking a laborious and difficult task. No position is more delicate and responsible, than that of a conductor of a weekly journal. With many prejudices to encounter, many tastes to please, many opinions to review, and withal some independence to maintain, we shall, probably, be unable to avoid coming in conflict with some one's prejudices, or opinions, or offending some one's tastes. Added to this, is the constant and ceaseless toil, absolutely necessary to the profession. The judge may adjourn

his court, the school and the work-shop may close their shutters, the mourner may veil his features, and turn both friend and stranger from his door; but the journalist must toil tirelessly on, forgetting today the sorrow of yesterday, and daily battle with some new difficulty. The paper must appear, whatever be the private burden Providence imposes upon the editor's heart and brain. But we come to the discharge of our duties, strong in the courage of an earnest desire to prove ourselves worthy of the confidence and support of the patrons of the Democrat, and the friends of our earlier days.

The Democrat, while it remains under our charge, will be a faithful and fearless advocate of the principles of the National Democracy.—Originally laid down by Jefferson, the founder of our political faith, they have effectually withstood the efforts of our opponents to prove them fellacious, and guided this nation safely through dangers from internal and sectional jealousies and internal foes. Broad and national in their application, distinguishing between the powers conceded to the General Government, and those which are reserved to themselves by the several states, and acknowledging the political equality of all citizens, they are at once the pride and glory of the true friends of the Union. We must therefore, of necessity, oppose and condemn the course of the present administration, not only because it has forsaken the Jeffersonian faith, but because it has introduced into the Democratic party—the party that placed it in power, tests at variance with that faith, and odious in themselves, and made the result of the application of such tests, the basis of its personal favors and frowns.

Regarding the Slavery question as settled by the Nebraska Bill, we shall, without expressing our opinions of the mode by which that settlement was effected, oppose all efforts to re-open the same, and commence legislation anew upon a subject fraught with so much danger to the Union; earnestly looking for the result which it is claimed that Bill will secure; viz, the principles of popular sovereignty.

We have no apprehensions of the dismemberment of the National Democratic party, in the political commotions that are now taking place. We feel confident, that conservative doctrines will always bind together, a sufficient number of pure and pa-

triotic minds, unswayed by executive patronage, and uncorrupted by party spoils, to protect us from disunion, or the madness of radicalism. To the National Democratic party of the State of New York—a party purified of corruption, clear and explicit in the enunciation of its creed, tried in the furnace of adversity, untainted with side issues, or the infamous measures of a venal administration—we therefore fix our political faith, and give our unwavering support.

With regard to the other departments of the paper, it will be our aim to present articles that will tend to instruct the mind, develop the affections, and refine the tastes. We shall endeavor to satisfy all literary preferences, by giving stories for love-lorn damsels, jokes for the mirthful, speculations for idealists, facts for the utilitarian, and reason for the grave and strong-minded, always choosing or writing our articles on the principle of “much in little.”

In thus entering into new and interesting relations with the readers of this paper, we hope we may pursue a course, that will result in profit and pleasure to both. But both proprietor and patrons should remember, that as the benefits of such a relation are mutual, so also are the burdens. While, therefore, we strive to give them a paper worthy of their support, we trust they will feel their obligations to supply us, as soon as due, with that “material aid,” so essential, especially in these “hard times,” to our undertaking. Paying the amount required for fifty-two numbers of our paper may be a small thing for our patrons, but a failure to receive it, is much, very much, to us.

Thus having introduced ourselves to our patrons and readers, we go forth to future duties, hoping that we may present them with a paper, worthy of their support, and that our friends will lend a helping hand to increase its circulation, and extend its usefulness.

WHAT ARE THE ISSUES?

(June 7, 1855.)

A new political revolution has taken place in this country, completely demolishing the old party organizations. The issues on which they were divided are obsolete. There is not left of them, in the whole Union a fragment large enough to be dignified

by the name of a party. Like the destruction of the temple of Jerusalem their annihilation has been so complete that there is not one stone of their gigantic and noble proportions resting upon another, that has not been thrown down. It is no pleasant duty for us to record the dissolution of that immense organization that has borne so proudly and successfully the appellation of the Democratic party—a party, relying upon the glory of the administrations of Jefferson and Jackson, whose names were worth a thousand men—a party dignified by its successes and worshipped for its name.—But it has become evident that though principles never change, parties may, and that this great organization with all these elements of strength and vigor, has become the victim of a powerful revolution in public sentiment over which party leaders and individual efforts have had no control—a current of national feeling that cannot now be stemmed. It becomes our painful duty then, as a part of the record of the times, to acknowledge that the great Democratic party, “of which we were a part,” is no more. Babylon, the great is fallen—is fallen.

We would do injustice to truth and the names of the great statesmen with which this party arose to say that its dissolution was caused by the unpopularity of the principles on which it was founded. We acknowledge the dissolution of the political machinery by which these principles were sustained and advocated, but the principles themselves are not the subjects of revolution—they are the emanations of minds that understood thoroughly the genius and structure of our country, and they have stood the test of public discussion, and been vindicated by our national prosperity, and they are now conceded by all parties throughout the country.

It may seem strange that a party, whose principles have been conceded to be correct, by the whole country, should dissolve; but a moment's reflection will convince any one that it is a most natural result—that when an organization has effected its objects there is no longer a necessity or an excuse for its existence—and that principles upon which the whole country unite, cannot be the dogmas of a party of the country. It becomes, then, like the well-favored and fat kine in the dream of Pharaoh, which did eat up the ill-favored and lean kine.

Such has been the result, as between the Democratic and

Whig parties, and it may be safely said, that there has not been a political contest throughout the whole Union since the presidential election of 1852, that has not turned upon the issues of these two parties. There can no longer be an enthusiasm excited on the subjects of the United States Bank, independence of the treasury, protective tariff or extension of territory. Each of these subjects are now at rest throughout the whole country—and with the exception of a small faction of abolitionists in Massachusetts, there is now an entire understanding on the question of the comparative powers of the State and general governments, including the question of slavery and internal improvements.

The utter decay of enthusiasm upon these issues was manifested early in the presidential campaign to which we have just alluded. The candidate of the Whig party, with a better judgment than he exhibited in some of his subsequent acts during the canvass, discovered, that opposition to the democratic principles had become palpably insufficient to maintain the Whig party through the campaign, and that unless some new question was involved in the contest there was great danger that the whole electoral college would unite upon his adversary. Our country was then so divided between the two political parties, that the foreign foe held the balance of power in a large number of the States. General Scott calculated with great plausibility, that if he could obtain that vote he would carry the election. His success with the foreign vote and in the campaign is familiar to all. It was evident that the Democratic party, with its name, with the friends in their ranks that it had been feeding for a long time at the public crib, and with the many offices it had at its disposal to bestow upon those that proved themselves worthy in the contest, had too strong a hold on the support of the foreign vote to lose it simply by General Scott's admiration of the "rich Irish brogue" and that "fine German accent."

An arrangement was, indeed, made in that election between William H. Seward and Archbishop Hughes, by which General Scott received the largest part of the Roman Catholic vote, but the arrangement was discovered before the election, and in New Jersey, where it was better understood than any where else, it carried over a larger number of the native and protestant votes to

his adversary than was gained by it, and New Jersey, Scott's own State, and a stronghold of the Whig party, very unexpectedly gave a large Democratic majority.

This was the last effort of the Whig party as a national organization, and since that time the issues of the old parties have been completely lost sight of, and the State elections have all turned upon local questions that can have no bearing upon the national polities, or at least upon which no national party can unite.

Within the last year the American party has sprung up—the outburst of a public sentiment that has been for a number of years festering in the minds of the people, and which has before this made several ineffectual efforts at development. In every case it has hung upon the borders of the old issues, and been overwhelmed by their paramount importance. But its appearance at this time, when old dogmas have become obsolete, and its sudden growth into an issue of controlling interest, and its successes in nearly every part of the Union, shows the strength with which it has seized the public mind. The question whether Americans shall rule America, or not, is one that cannot now be "crushed out" by the old party leaders, or by the powers of an opposing administration. It is an issue that must be fairly met, and if it is overcome, it will be overcome on its own merits.

The late election in Virginia is significant as to the political issues of next presidential election, and gives a definite color to the chameleon-hued politics into which the country has been involved since 1852. Situated at the centre of the political arena—the "Mother of Presidents" and the manufactory of political creeds, Virginia has always had a great influence upon the construction of parties, and may now be taken as a safe index of the national sentiment.

The American party, organized but one year ago, was in that election with difficulty defeated by the remnant of the old political parties, and the whole power of the general government.—A number of the old Democratic papers claim the victory of Henry A. Wise, the anti-American candidate in that election, as a triumph of the Democratic party. It is strange, if their claim be true, that the old Whig papers of this State are quite as furious in their rejoicing as they ever were at the successes of the

Whig party in the days of its triumphs. It is a most evident indication of a great political revolution, when we see the New York Tribune, the Albany Evening Journal, the Washington Union, the Kingston Journal and the Ulster Republican, grow jubilant over the same election. But the election in Virginia was not a triumph of the Democratic party, for Henry A. Wise has been one of the most unrelenting and unscrupulous persecutors of that party, and entered the field, declaring, that "He had no recantations to make." It was a contest between the fused remnants of the old political organizations and the new American party, and that these old elements of power, with the public patronage yet at its disposal, was with difficulty able to defeat the organization of but one year's growth, is a very powerful indication of its future successes, and of the firmness with which the American sentiment has seized the public mind.

What has been done in Virginia will soon be followed by the other states. The American and anti-American parties will have their contests throughout the whole Union—no doubt with various success. The newspapers speak daily of the nominations made by the American party, and its adversary throughout the whole extent of the country. In this State the troops are marshalling for the conflict in the fall election, and we see the old organs of the Seward faction in close communion with the old leaders of the Democratic party, preparing to give the new party a warm reception.

With ingenuity and experience in political corruption, the old party leaders are endeavoring to entangle the new organization with local and sectional prejudices, but they will fail in their attempts. But a small portion of the people of this country are carried away by sectional and fanatical enthusiasm, and the masses are averse to agitating dogmas that will be dangerous to the peace and harmony of the Union. After such sentiments the American party is formed, with objects distinctly and purely national. The evils it seeks to remedy menace all the States alike. Its opponents are in all the States, and have a national organization.

The issues are thus already made up in which political parties are to be divided throughout the country. Let the American citizen weigh carefully his doctrines, and see on which side of the

question he is to be found. Your choice will be to support or oppose the principles of the American party. Your old alliances have no longer any vitality. Let not yourselves be led by them into sentiment and principles to which you will have a natural and unconquerable antipathy.—Observe carefully the direction in which the changes are leading you, and be not led away into a position that will stultify all your preconceived notions of national policy. Let yourselves not be instruments in the hands of corrupt politicians, to oppose what you believe the best interests of your country.

A CONSERVATIVE PARTY.

(June 21, 1855.)

We have been several times charged by the Kingston Journal, with making an effort to organize a "Great conservative party for the preservation of the Union." It was apparently a matter of surprise and ridicule to the editor of that paper, that any one could engage seriously in such a nefarious undertaking, but how much greater must be the surprise, when he finds that we have actually succeeded—that a great Union-preserving party has sprung up with healing on its wings, to inaugurate a new life and vitality to the Union-preserving sentiment of the country—to deaden sectional prejudices, and to vivify our nationality and invigorate our people with a new love for that Constitution which was adopted by the people of these United States, "In order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, ensure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity." Such are the objects for which the Constitution of these United States was formed, and the same objects still exist for their union. The editor of the Journal charges us with the wicked intent of forming a great conservative party, for the purpose of perpetuating that Union. The crowning outrage upon the feelings of the Journal is that the party is organized, and we lay before our readers today, in another column, the platform of the American Party, adopted by the National Convention at Philadelphia, as a consummation of our efforts at a "great Union-preserving party." To the crime with which we stand charged in the Journal, we make a free and open confession.

"That we have ta'en the old man's daughter,
It is most true—true we have married her,
The very head and front of our offending."

We present the platform to our readers as it stands. We think it unnecessary to apologize to our readers for the course we have taken, or to claim any credit for the consistency, with which we have pursued it. There is in every American patriot, an exuberant and spontaneous love for the Union of these United States—for our whole great country, that will never succomb to a sectional fanaticism. The objects for which the Union was formed can be as well accomplished by allowing each State to adopt its own social system, whether it recognize Slavery or Mormonism, or whether the people believe in the Christian religion or Mohammedanism. At the North we do not recognize Slavery as a part of our social system. We believe—that is, the most of us believe in the doctrines of the Christian religion; in the South, the institution of Slavery is a part of their social system; in Utah polygamy is established, and the Chinamen in California are pagans. Can the statesman discover any reason in all this, why the union of these different social systems, for the purpose of mutual protection, and for the extension of the blessings of free republican institutions should be divided into as many different sections, as there are differences of opinions in these serious questions? We are human and fallible—they are the same in other States. We think we are right in our opinion—they are probably equally honest in theirs; and a decent respect for their opinions and a becoming modesty for our own, will serve greatly to quiet and sooth a philanthropy on our part that may, after all, be a mistaken one. If our opinions are correct—for certainly cannot be predicated of the correctness of a system of morality of human invention—then calm discussion will ultimately convince those that are in error; or if they are not convinced by arguments, they will have the benefits of our example and experience; but if all this fails, we certainly ought not to cut them off from all associations with our more enlightened theories of society, and place them as outside barbarians, beyond even the hope of reformation.

With the Union of the States, right systems of society, justice and good morals will steadily gain ground—with a dissolution

of the Union, civil wars, expensive governments, and the evils always attending revolutions, will send back the stream of progress for many years, and forever blast the bright anticipations that now rest upon this experiment of free and popular institutions.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY STAMPEDE.

(August 2, 1855.)

A few weeks since the political heavens assumed a threatening aspect. The hopes excited by the principles which prevailed in the National Convention of the American party at Philadelphia, on the subject of Slavery, were almost entirely crushed by the prospect that a few miserable party leaders of fanatical negro lovers had destroyed the unanimity of that decision, and repudiated its action. It did seem for a while as if there were some reason in the advice of our very polite and patronizing editor of the Journal for advising young men who desired political preference to attach themselves to the great northern anti-slavery liberty movement. It did seem as if Massachusetts had become unanimously abolition, and that Wilson, Garrison and Parker were on the most direct road to become canonized in a new catalogue of saints, and that Seward was to be rushed on the lightning train, over an air-line road, into the presidential chair. All parties were astonished at this new movement, which abolished the old system of planks and platforms, and proposed to run its candidates over a track without platform or depot, straight into office, propelled by the highest fanatical, abolition, freedom, liberty, anti-Nebraska steam pressure. The editor of our Democratic Journal thought the idea was plausible and has taken his passage in one of the first trains. He has, he says, "some correspondents in this County of whom other things might be expected, but they are ready to join with him in the great Republican movement." We have seen the first flush of its prosperity. Let us not, however, be deceived by these first appearances. The early proselytes of a new faith are not the safest men, and there will be found a great many in this country who do not like to be rushed along in such a fast train. There are men that examine the time table and the direction of the train, before they engage tickets. The national, patriotic, and reasoning men of the country have not been carried away so suddenly,

and it is pleasant to hear from them in this crisis of the Union and conservative principles. The following is a portion of the Baccalaureate address of the Hon. Theodore Frelinghuysem, President of Rutgers College, and a candidate for the office of Vice-President in 1844, on the ticket with Henry Clay, which touches this question:

"Another matter of very anxious import, in its relation to our welfare as a nation, will have a share in your concern. Domestic slavery has been for many years a fruitful theme for moral and political discussion, and is now assuming a graver aspect—that often alarms even the most tranquil. I only desire here a few words, to impress upon your minds a ruling thought that should always have its place in the discussions of this interesting matter. It is not an original question. It cannot be regarded even as a simple abstract proposition in morals. It is complicated with so many interests, and holds such peculiar relations to the country, that we cannot dispose of it as a mere abstraction. When the constitution of the United States was under advisement by the law of nations, a slave escaping to a free country became free. The Slaveholding States were unwilling to form a union upon the basis of the international law between independent States. They proposed to the free States, if you wish to unite with us and thus form one people, in closer bonds than by the general law of nations, then this law of the fugitive slave must be so modified that we shall have the same right to reclaim in your State, that we now have in any county in our own State. Our forefathers agreed to this modification, and the thirteen colonies unanimously adopted it, and thus left slavery a domestic institution in all the States where it existed. This is the true political state of the question, and therefore we cannot disturb it. As a great moral and social evil, it is open to free consideration and debate, as are all other matters pertaining to moral duty. But politically we agreed to leave it where we found it, and that was with the slaveholding States, with all its responsibilities. The whole case is with them. It is a gravely momentous subject, encompassed by perplexing difficulties, that call for deliberation and candor, and good temper. And more than this—it invokes afresh the cherished and fraternal feelings that formed the

American constitution—which has so long and so illustriously shown how much of human wisdom and forecast, and how much more of Divine benignity, crowned the first great experiment of a free and self-governed people. May it be perpetual! May no rash hand mar its glory, or dare disturb its foundations. Should not almost eighty years of prosperous freedom plead for our Union? Should not the smiles of God's favor towards us, for all that time, hush the murmurs of discontent and persuade us rather to patience and hope? Let us wait for the healings of time, and kindness and the sure growth of better feelings, that will follow the spread and power of the Gospel of peace. Let us, for the sake of human liberty, and man's last hope, wait, and bear and forbear—in the fear of God and a living prayer for His guidance."

The Republican movement in this State has a peculiarly bad odor about it. It is controlled by the men who have figured in the political thimble-rigging operations at Albany for a number of years, spoiling the treasury and manufacturing a maze of political machinery. We cannot see into it anything so loveable that it would be commendable for young men or old men to taek their fortunes to it, either on account of the abolition smell of the principles, or the sulphur smell of the leaders. We have, however, three newspapers in this County that seem disposed to take down the whole unadulterated mixture, niggers and all. They are the Ellenville Journal, whose editor intends to leave for Kansas as soon as the society becomes sufficently well settled in that country to make his valuable life secure beyond the uncertain hazzard now run by placing it in the vicinity of the uncivilized people, and deadly weapons which are now said to abound there; the Kingston Journal, whose siamese twin editors have been so much taken up with the sucess of the Russians in the Crimea and signal failure of the "Stink Pots," that they have been unfortunately deluded into the course by a couple of very respectable correspondents, whose initials are only to be given to the public; and lastly, the Rondout Courier, whose principle writer has been so diligently engaged in abusing the ministers of our County, and developing the beauties of the search and seizure clause of the Maine liquor law, that he only woke into a political existence by accidentally stumbling over

the extract from President Frelinghuysen's Baccalaureate, above quoted. He gives us, in his article of last week, a severe judgment on the course of instruction, that formed his early character, and a very unfeeling rebuke to the President for pronouncing such "old fogy" doctrines to the youthful graduate. It is certainly evident that the writer to which we have alluded is not desirous, nor does he seem to be in a situation to throw much credit on the institution at which he graduated, or much strength in the cause he has commenced to advocate.

We have all along had sufficient confidence in the reason and sound sense of the people to prevent us from dispairing of the Union. But the success of the combination of all the fanaticisms last fall by the election of Clark for Governor, and the return of William H. Seward to the United States Senate, have secured the services of such newspapers as we have alluded to, to accomplish the same thing in the coming election,—and with Seward and Bishop Hughes to direct their efforts in the present excited state of the country, there is no telling what injuries may be committed upon the noble constitution under which we live.

The views of ex-Senator Frelinghuysen are at this time very valuable. He is a man of enlarged philanthropy. He has the confidence and love of the good men of the country, and more than all, he is in a position to advise those who are soon to take an active part in the political arena. They show that the excitement growing out of the slavery agitation is not the fruit of a genuine philanthropy, but the restless agitation of those who are eager for revolution. They will lead the philanthropic men of the country to examine a question so serious in its character before they become involved in its dangerous meshes.

It may be policy for some men to agitate the Slavery question and bring on a sectional hostility that will lead to a civil war between the North and the South: perhaps it will advance their ambitious aims by such a result; but for our part, if such a thing is in the most remote future; if it can be predicted on the slightest possibility, we can wish to have our hands washed clean of the deed. May it never be charged upon us that for an overweening love of three millions of unfortunate and de-

graded beings, we periled the happiness of twenty millions of the happiest beings that ever enjoyed the blessings of good government, and urged them on to civil war, the most horrible of all the curses that can descend upon any people. If success can be attained only by espousing such a cause, we will always feel content in an honest and honorable minority.

We do not, however, believe that many will be carried off by this excitement in the coming election. If all who had espoused the principles of the American party had voted for their candidates last fall, this State would not have been misgoverned by Clark for two years, nor misrepresented by Seward for six. Those men will not be deceived a second time, and we may count with certainty upon the success in this State of the entire American ticket in the coming election, and with it the complete triumph of conservative principles over the combined fanaticism of Greeley & Co.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY,—WHAT IT IS MADE OF, AND
WHAT BECOMES OF IT.

(August 9, 1855.)

When Seward was elected Senator from this State last winter; when Wilson led off a strong party from the American National Convention last summer; when the whole North was agitated by the lawless disturbances in Kansas; when the administration of President Pierce had broken to fragments the party by which he was elected, it seemed a fit season to start a new party, uniting all the anti-slavery elements. A great many honest and good men were then so far deceived as to believe that with so many accidents in its favor, a party could be organized in this country solely on the geographical issue, sufficient to elect a President in 1856. Even the sly and foxy Wm. H. Romeyn, of the Democratic Journal, who is supposed to scent a gale of political strength with as much quickness and accuracy as a blood-hound tracks the fugitive, advised his young friends, desiring political preferment, to join in, and swell the "phalanx of freedom." With his gentlemanly and hypocritical pretensions of friendship, he succeeded in arraying a formidable organization on that basis, and made many boasts that he began to smell the "Sheriff's printing" afar off.

In July we noticed the general tendency of the anti-slavery movement, and the materials of which it was formed, and we warned our readers against being enticed into an organization so dangerous to the country, and at the same time predicted its speedy dissolution. Our prophecy has been verified even sooner than we anticipated. The re-action of the conservative mind of the country has taken place sooner than we expected, and even our white sepulchre of a politician—our well dressed and bowing editor, has discovered that he entered a ship that was rotten and leaky, and therefore leaving his friends to perish in the sinking hulk, he has already commenced to cast about for passage on a vessel of stancher and sounder material.

In our article of July last, we characterized the anti-slavery agitation at the North as a dangerous political basis, and argued that a party founded on a geographical issue would either dissolve of itself, or lead to the dissolution of the Union. We have ever since had our eyes on the movement, and will now endeavor to throw some more light on the subject, and attempt to indicate more clearly what it is made of, and what will become of it.

While Seward was Governor of this State, and as early as 1841, a demand was made upon him by the Governor of Virginia for the rendition of two fugitive slaves. Seward refused to comply with the requisition of the Governor of Virginia, and out of this question a controversy arose which was prosecuted with great warmth by the Southern press. Seward saw that by this discussion he had become odious at the South, and that his chances for the Presidency by the aid of Southern votes, were destroyed. From that time we may date his efforts to organize a party at the North sufficiently strong to elect a President. The old Whig party resisted all his efforts to produce this result, and kept a bold national front until its overwhelming defeat in 1852. This time then came to strike, and out of that defeat we can trace the first palpable and open attempts to form what is intended to be a great Northern Abolition party, and which have been developed under the name of the Republican party. It was in accordance with this plan that the slavery agitation has been made so prominent a subject of public discussion in this State. It was in accordance with this plan that Wilson of Massachusetts, Ford of Ohio, and Johnson of Pennsylvania,

withdrew from the American National Convention at Philadelphia in June last. It was in accordance with this plan that the Seward leaders attempted to get the control of the American Councils in this State, in order to turn them as a body into the Seward coalition. Look at these facts for a moment. See the bogus members of the American party last winter voting for Seward for the Senate. See Ford go back to Ohio from the Philadelphia Convention and run on the Seward coalition ticket for Lieut. Governor. See Wilson in Massachusetts and Johnson in Pennsylvania as leaders of the Republican party, and you will understand what is intended by a union of all the elements of freedom, and you will see the hand of Wm. H. Seward behind all, managing the wires and preparing the ropes for his succession to the Presidential chair in 1856.

New York is the great centre of Northern politics, and upon her soil must be fought and won the battle of succession before any great success may be looked for. With the addition of the Maine law excitement, and the skill in management of the Seward leaders, and while the strength of the American party was yet untried and without confidence, the Seward coalition succeeded in electing Clark, Governor of this State last fall, and Seward was returned to the Senate. But we are now approaching a contest of a different character. The American Party has discovered the enemies lurking in its fold, and has become purified and nationalized. It has acquired during the last year increased numbers and increased confidence, and it approaches the contest with the strongest assurance of success. Union and satisfaction everywhere abound in its ranks, and a warm zeal in the cause inspires its members. If there is any hope for the principle for which it contends, now, if ever, it must succeed.

Let us then take as a basis for our future political calculation, the triumph of the American Party in New York. Where, then, stands the Seward dynasty? Where, then, is the coalition of the elements of freedom? Where is Seward: defeated already in Maine and Pennsylvania—with a very feeble triumph in Ohio—with no show of a party in Indiana and the States of the far west—and with no party in Connecticut, and the prospect of a very uncertain scrub-race in Massachusetts. How have the hordes of Semiracherib been scattered! How have the mighty

fallen! Where are the elements of this new Republicanism? From the future we hear a dim echo answr, where?

But we have now a more convincing and palpable proof that Republicanism and the Seward programme is a failure. The Democratic Journal has deserted it. No weather cock ever indicated the direction of the wind—no bloodhound could ever scent out the turn in a trail quicker than the sly and cunning editor of the Journal can discover a change in the current of public opinion. It would probably be unfair to enter into the private controversies of the unhappy family, and to parade before the public the discord and bickerings that have grown up of late between the senior and junior editors of that association of sweetness. It is, however, well known that Uncle Tobey, from the first, went warmly into the Seward scheme. He drank with Chambers—went to Temperance Conventions with Chambers, and was in all respects as near like Chambers as natural aptness for imitation would permit. It is even said that he aped Chambers so nearly, that it was difficult to tell which was the bigger ape of the two. They corresponded together, and Uncle Tobey kept the Journal sailing very handsomely under the direction of Chambers, so as to fill her sails most beautifully with the Republican breeze. But a change came over the spirit of Tobey's dream. The Republican party and the Maine Law party, which in this county happens to be the same thing, spotted Tobey either by the smell of his breath, or in some other way, and he was not appointed as a delegate to the Temperance or Republican State Conventions, and therefore failed to connect with Chambers. The next week lo! and behold! the Kingston Democratic Journal is off the track. "It has cast off with the old love, and put on with the new." The Republican party in Ulster County has burst up. Tobey, the engineer for the County, as Chambers is for the State, has collapsed a flue. Romeyn writes an article in which he turns the Journal short off from Republicanism, and makes the sweetest allusions to two of the candidates on the American ticket in particular, and the other candidates in general.

We may now pause, before these prodigies of hypocrisy and cunning, and witness their exposure and disgrace. Tobey, the friend of the Republican and Temperance men, 1st aid-de-camp

of Engineer Chambers, is sent home and repudiated by his parties. They will nothing of him. Romeyn, the Whig Central Committeeman for long, long years, now repudiated and cursed by his fellow members—anathematized by his own central committee. Thus we see the hopes of Seward and our own sweet editors of the Journal all vanish in thin air—they have been weighed in the balance of public opinion and found wanting. Henceforth they are the subjects of a political oblivion from which the people will never wish to recall them.

“AN ADVISER AS IS AN ADVISER.”

(August 23, 1855.)

The Ulster Republican was considerably nettled, although it pretended to be amused, at the manner we showed up the results of a fusion between the Hards and the Softs. We are called by that amiable editor, in a style of language he acquired in his clock speculations, “An adviser as is an adviser.” The name is correct, though not in the sense intended. We are not aware that we have in the least lost the right of advising or counseling with the Hards or National Democrats of this County, or that they have taken a position on any question of the day contrary to the doctrines we have advocated. At the time of the division between the Hards and Softs in 1853, we were found where the Republican was not, true to Democratic principles, and have so continued to this time. We do not know that our course has been condemned in any particular by the National Democracy of this County. If, then, an unwavering support of the principles of the National Democracy gives us any title to the high prerogative of giving advice, we most certainly have it, the opinion of the Ulster Republican, which has failed in this particular, to the contrary notwithstanding.

We are not yet convinced that the insignificant faction in this State that clings to the shattered fragments of the Pierce administration, is the “Simon pure Democracy.” If such a result happens, then we want no misunderstanding on the subject; we are not of them. And if the Hards in this County are so much softened by the glorious transactions of the four years of misgovernment of General Pierce—the taking of Graytown, the confusion, bloodshed and outlawry in Kansas, and the

great efforts and great failure in acquiring Cuba—as to become a part of such a “Simon pure Democracy,” we are not of them. If we understand the principles of the Hard Shell party, they can have no sympathy for the Editor of the Republican. He separated from the National Democracy in 1853, and preferred the Sheriff’s printing to the honor of advocating correct principles, and during the whole time that has succeeded, he has loaded all who did not follow him with the vilest personal abuse. We do not know that he has ever recanted or acknowledged his transgressions, or desired to be let back into their ranks. By what authority, then, does he meddle with the Hards, or dictate to them in regard to their advisers?

As National polities now stand, there are actually but two parties: the American party and the Anti-American party. The members of Pierce’s cabinet, with a discernment in political intrigue in which there are no superiors, have organized the shattered remains of their party on the opposition to the American sentiment as their working basis, and all who join that party must take the stigma and disgrace that now and ever will rest upon the present administration. We foresaw the result six months ago, and warned our readers of it. The facts are now plainly before them in the results of the recent elections in North Carolina, Alabama, Kentucky and Tennessee. The Administration, to show its zeal in the new cause, has turned every man suspected of Americanism out of employment, even down to the carpenters at work at the public buildings. Secretary Marcy, if he had now a fifty cent job of repairs to the seat of his breeches, would be as careful not to give the contract to a man suspected of Know Nothingism, as he would be to have it allowed in his bill of expenses.

The Hards, at the time of their separation from the Softs, felt a virtuous indignation at the conduct of General Pierce, which they have since that time constantly expressed. There can be nothing noble or honorable in peaceably delivering themselves up into his hands, and becoming his supple instruments as the Softs now are in this State. Corrupt demagogues seeking for office are striving to get them to do so; but if they blindly consent, they will find that they have bartered their true interests for an opportunity to confer a place at the public

crib upon men utterly unworthy of the gift. We have noticed that when important offices are at stake, we hear much about fusion, but when other places that do not pay so well are to be filled, fusion does not seem to be much of a desideratum. We cannot help drawing the inference that what we hear now-a-days about fusion, comes less from the people than it does from the heartless office-seekers. We shall, therefore, raise our voice against it, however much such advice may be unpleasant to the editor of the Republican. The public may rest assured that we don't square our conduct by his desires, and that we shall give our views and our advice regardless of his criticisms.

WHO ARE THE MOULDERS OF PUBLIC SENTIMENT?

(August 30, 1855.)

To many of our readers the question we propose will seem to involve a paradox, for as in the whole universe there are not two countenances in whose contour and expression there is an exact similarity, so it never happens that men's opinions and sentiments entirely coincide in all the details of any subject.

"Men's judgments like their watches, none
Go just alike, yet each believes his own."

The eye and nose of one man may so nearly resemble the same features of another as to deceive the most expert and fastidious, but no one can mistake the strong and marked peculiarity that distinguishes the face of every human creature so two men may see the same events but will draw from them entirely different conclusions, and it is equally true that no two men look alike or think alike. But notwithstanding this dissimilarity of opinion, the sway of parties and the partisan strife that is engendered in every community, and the divisions of partisans among themselves, and the constant and unending dissensions that are ever alive in the social and political organizations of society, no one can fail to discover that every nation exhibits a strong and distinct peculiarity in its habits and sentiments to distinguish it from others. Every nation has a predominant and controlling Public Sentiment, and whether it be an Absolutism or a pure Democracy, government must cater to this peculiarity, or the governed will no longer submit to its

authority. The Czar of Russia, while he indulges the religious enthusiasm of his people, is the most arbitrary autocrat in the world, but vile and abject as are his subjects in their submission, they would not suffer the first inroad upon their nationality—their controlling public sentiment. In this country, where revolution is easy and government rests wholly on a pure and uncorrupted nationality, it is not an improper question to ask, Who are the Moulders of Public Sentiment?

Solon and Lycurgus gave to Athens and Sparta their pristine freedom and heroic simplicity. Demosthenes aroused the energy that overthrew Philip of Macedon. Cicero and Terence impressed on the Roman mind the maxim, that virtue was the source of happiness. Virgil threw the charm of poetry over rural simplicity, and the beauty of a garden over the Augustan Age. Milton pictured the rebellion of the Angels, and filled the Christian religion with a sublime imagery. Voltaire and Rousseau poisoned the French literature and fixed upon France the stain of a national infidelity.

Such are a few, who in former ages have set their stamp on the public sentiment, here pouring a flood of patriotism and virtue into the national heart, there with the voice of a Siren guiding the masses to anarchy and infidelity.

But various causes have happened to reduce the effect of individuals. The more general diffusion of intelligence, and the facilities for requiring a liberal education, have made the common mind more conscious of its own strength, and more suspicious and incredulous of the guidance of others. In this country especially human rights stand on an equal basis and individual pre-eminence is rare. The eloquence of Otis and Henry in our earlier existence as a nation, fanned into a flame the sparks of Liberty, and the bonds of British oppression were shaken off. But the character of the people has grown more reserved as the experiment of our government ripens into maturity, and is rapidly settling down into a firm nationality. In a country like France, where public sentiment is manufactured at Paris, and is adopted rapidly by its country towns, with the dress of the metropolis, it is an easier matter for individuals to move the political machinery of the nation. But with us the North, the South, the East and the West will shortly be no un-

equal rivals in commercial and political strength, and the different States of the Union forming distinct, social and political communities, render the control of no one section over the other in the nation entirely impossible. We need not look then to see any one man obtaining a very strong influence in the whole country. But our national opinions must be of gradual growth, depending upon various causes and accidents. The impulse of the masses to study for themselves will lead them into a thousand different channels of information and bring into the united mind a varied and extensive learning, out of which the character of the country, and its eminence in the eyes of other nations in science, laws, polities and religion will gradually be developed. In a country of great extent and of conflicting local interests, though sectional and partial principles may for a while prevail, they can never obtain entire success. Party spirit and individual ambition will at times summon such influence to their aid, but the calmer judgments of those who will view every principle without the bias of personal interest, will discard them and fix themselves ultimately on measures and sentiments that are broad and general in their application, and equal in their effects. If then, amid all the various shades of ideas and opinions, that arise, if there is, as it were, balancing on the conflicting shades, protean forms and unending varieties of thought and opinion, a public sentiment that distinguishes our nationality, it must be of such nature that the whole country can unite in its expression, and other nations judge us by its character.

Having thus endeavored to delineate, briefly within the compass of a newspaper article, the nature of Public Sentiment, and the manner in which it is developed, we claim with professional vanity common to the disciples of the immortal Faust, that the American Press is the moulder of the public sentiment. The Press, "the dread of tyrants," since it commenced its labors in a secluded garret in the dark ages, until the present time, never breathed its denunciations against corruption and oppression; its praises of public virtue; its rebukes against depraved, and its encouragement to a pure and healthy literature more freely than in this country and in the present age. A fireside is rarely found, however secluded in the yet gloomy

wilderness of the remotest settlement, that is not cheered by communion with the world through the humble columns of a newspaper. The soldier returning home from a crusade to recover the sepulchre of the Savior, with tales of chivalry and the glory of having seen Jerusalem, was never greeted with more eagerness and pleasure, or more clothed with an air of wisdom than the public journal in its regular visit to the family circle. From it, the boy draws the first lesson of his political creed; the maiden, the beginning of Romance and Poetry, and to all it is rich with the passing history of distant countries, and an assurance of the safety of their own.

It is the peculiar glory of the magnetic needle that it led to the discovery of a new world; of the invention of steam navigation, that intercourse among nations, has become familiar; of the ingenuity and simple club-axe that the vast American forests have fallen suddenly to the earth, but to the American press it remains to cast a flood of light over all these noble works, and as the minstrel in days of chivalry was the author of the warrior's fame, so it is to the press at which Franklin developed his early genius, and where many of our great men, since his day, have acquired a nervous arm and pen, to crown every work of mind with a brighter lustre and a more enduring fame—

“To exalt

Man's generous aim to all diviner deeds;
To chase each partial purpose from his breast.
And through the mists of passion and of sense,
And through the tossing tide of chance and pain
To hold his course unfaltering.”

A LECTURE
upon
SIR HENRY VANE THE YOUNGER,

Before the Kingston Literary Association on Friday, Feb. 27, 1857,
by William Lounsbury, of Kingston, N. Y.

Ladies and Gentlemen: Two hundred years ago there was standing in Queen Street, in Boston, a small house, which was pointed out with a religious interest to the stranger, as having been the residence of Governor Vane. The simple, Puritan architecture of the building has some time since given place to the composite, and more superb style of our metropolitan residences. A thriving and wealthy population have built their palaces on and about the site of this simple dwelling, and the local interest, which was once directed towards it, would hardly now be sufficient to cause the owner to trace his title through the piles of deeds and wills by which it has descended from the Governor of the feeble colony of Massachusetts Bay. It would be impossible to excite in this audience a thrill of local interest, or to induce you to go as pilgrims to Boston to visit the spot where the house once stood, or to dig for curiosities among the decayed elements of a building, which would now be an eye-sore to its neighbors, if it had been allowed to survive the destruction and rebuilding, which is a part of this progressive age. I will propose no such antiquarian research, by which to add strange specimens of ruins to a curiosity shop. But the same sentiments which directed the attention of the Bostonian to an object associated with a man esteemed and honored, has drawn us hither to investigate a character intimately connected with the early history of our country and institutions. The house has perished amid the general wreck of matter; but the man with whom it is associated is not the subject of oblivion. For

him there is a place in history—an enduring tomb by which his memory shall be perpetuated, while popular liberty and free conscience remain the noble inheritance of his character and influence. As pious Moslems pay their yearly visit to the tomb of Mohammet, it becomes us to make a pilgrimage to the shrine from whence was lighted the torch of civil and religious liberty, which burns now so brightly among us. I propose, therefore, tonight to review the life of Governor Vane, or Sir Henry Vane the Younger, as he is better known and without entering with painful accuracy into a minute biographical sketch of his life, or discussing disputed points of his character, to trace his influence as a statesman in England and America in directing the current of events towards the adoption of our beloved constitution. I propose to trace the mysterious fortune of this country, by which the son of an English Lord was to lay the foundation of American independence, and by his character and influence weave the crowning garland of American liberty.

It is a curious study to observe the effect of a single mind upon the current of a nation's history. How a principle falling from an humble source upon the world may, like the little cloud just gathering in the horizon, be the forerunner of a storm that will tear away ancient landmarks and the most durable structures. From the ten thousand battles which have been fought—from the fields which have been fertilized by carnage—from the revolutions which have shaken empires, we can trace events back as we can proceed towards the source of mighty rivers, until we come at last to find a little spring just trickeling from the side of the rock.

In tracing a rich and valuable principle to its source we are often turned from our direction in the crooked labyrinth of events, and as the miner's rod is often bent from the pure vein of gold by the presence of a baser metal, so we are deluded into false notions and attribute results to unworthy causes; but indefatigable and unwearied research will lead the student and the miner ultimately upon the pure bed of fine gold, and the pure spring whence it exuded forth to the naked eye. Events, which seemed like the golden quartz, strewed around by mere chance,

will appear, then, as the emanation from a deep spring of a clear and well defined purpose.

A mysterious providence conducted Columbus through his crowded imaginings and almost super-human difficulties to the discovery of America. The same controlling influence weaved the heart and guided the hand of the American yeomanry through the trying hours of the Revolution. And it was no less the purpose of the Divine mind to evolve from the contents of the old world the pure doctrines of religious and civil liberty, to build them fresh and bright amid the new temple of American freedom.

I shall feel satisfied if I can trace to you, tonight, the part acted by Sir Henry Vane the Younger, in the accomplishment of this purpose: following him in his early connection with our colonial history and afterwards in his connection with the revolution in England, which resulted in the overthrow of Charles the first, and the subsequent struggle and failure of the English people to establish upon a firm basis a system of constitutional liberty.

Sir Henry Vane the Younger, the eldest son of Sir Henry Vane, was born in Kent County, in England, in the year 1612. He received the education which was usually given by the English nobility to those, who were in due course to inherit the paternal estate and dignities, and at the age of sixteen he was a collegian at Oxford. At this time he began to be somewhat eccentric in religious matters, that is, he exhibited more of it than is usually discoverable among young Lords, and becoming interested in theology he crossed to the Continent. His father was then Comptroller of the household of King Charles the first, and deeply involved in the intrigues and dissipations of the royal favorites. He was annoyed that his son should be so heterodox, as to be inclined to theological studies, instead of hawks and hounds, and he directed the attention of Charles and Laud, then Bishop of London, to the young collegian as a subject that needed the closer care of the church and the King. Charles and the Bishop each gave the young scion of the Vane family the benefit of their advice, in their separate audience chambers, and pointed to the older representative of the family, as a fitting example of loyalty and orthodoxy. But the young gentleman was neither con-

vinced by the promises of Charles or the arguments of the Bishop, and continued his studies and discussions upon the new theories which were every day springing into life.

At Geneva the Reformers first threw down the glove at the feet of the Romish Church, and challenged her champions to meet them in their onset upon her errors and abuses. Upon the little Republic of Switzerland, through the progress of the Reformation, the swells of papal Bulls and Edicts had broken in vain, and every successive surge of superstition had found her ramparts firm and unbroken; and while the first converts to Luther's preaching had one by one dropped back to their old allegiance to the Popes, the noble spirit of the Helvitian locked in by the Alps, had held steadily fast to the doctrines of the Reformers. In the beginning of the seventeenth century Geneva was the school of the theological student, and gave the best diplomas to Doctors of Divinity, as Italy and Paris now do to artists and tailors. Thither young Vane directed his steps and his active mind was soon involved in the mazes of metaphysics and theology. He imbibed the principles of the Reformation in their fullest extent, and returned to England more thoroughly imbued by the doctrines of free thought and opinion, than had ever been exhibited in the most radical theses of Luther or Zwingle. While Luther only aimed in the first place at breaking the power of Rome and building up a Protestant hierarchy in its stead, Vane designed to establish the most absolute and unqualified liberty in religious belief—to destroy every standard by which orthodoxy should be defined and heterodoxy punished. In this particular is his design to be distinguished from every other. The Reformation was intended to break the power of the Popes, which was becoming despotic and tyrannical, and to establish religious organizations more liberal and tolerant. Vane's was the principle of universal toleration. His mind was large enough to grasp a religion as comprehensive and Catholic as the world. He was a Christian in the largest and most comprehensive sense of that word. A master of all the abstrusest points of the science of religion, his intellect and frame of mind, were of that enlarged description, that, while he held his own views in a high and spiritual sense, he sought to imbibe truth from every system of faith and every form of religion. He looked

with the eye of a prophet through many generations, to the time when those who have the repute and credit to be the church or churches of Christ under some one of the forms and outward orders, approved by the powers of the world, should no longer give the rule of conformity in doctrine, worship and church to all the rest by compulsion and persecution. But the living members of Christ's body should be made manifest, in distinction from all those that have the name to live but are dead. His creed was new and startling to the English statesman and theologian, and was ascribed by them to the "workings of an unquiet fancy."

Upon his return to England, Vane's father was alarmed and mortified, that his son, who was to inherit his estate and honors, should have contracted a heresy so dangerous to the Church of England and his own position as the favorite of the King, and through his instrumentality Vane is again brought up before the King and the Bishop. There is no doubt, but that Charles offered the young Republican recusant, a lucrative and honorable position upon the conditions of his reentation, and from Laud's impetuous and arbitrary temper, we can imagine somewhat of the storm that fell upon the young man's creed. But his purpose was fixed, and neither the bribes of King Charles or the violence of the Bishop could bring him back to his allegiance. He declined the offers of the King and calmly met the imperious and passionate reproaches of Laud, and while the Court was alarmed that the "son and heir" of the favorite minister of Charles should embrace a heresy, and his father was fearful that his son would embarrass and weaken his influence, young Vane suddenly announced his determination to leave his country.

Such was the energy of Vane's purpose, that he threw aside the endearments of a home in his native land, to cast his fortunes with his principles upon the wilderness shores of the New World. It was not a desperate quest for adventure; it was not as a fugitive from criminal retribution; it was not even from motives of avarice, that the eldest son of a noble, the direct heir of honors and an immense estate should choose instead of biding the quiet and certain mutation of events, to take his doubtful chances among the Puritan refugees amid the wilds of America. It was the inspiration of a noble destiny that led this scion of the English nobility not yet 23 years of age to quit the sweet al-

lurements of a home—the seductive pleasures of the court—for the sufferings and privations of an unreclaimed and howling wilderness.

Vane landed in Boston in 1635, about ten years after White, a Puritan minister of Dorchester, had breathed vitality into the enterprise to plant a colony under the title of the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay in New England. The colony had hung together during this time under the most trying disasters, and had gradually advanced to be the most important of all the New England colonies. It was composed entirely of emigrants from England, who brought with them the peculiar notions and nationality of their native country. Among those who had come out under the first auspices of the company were men who had maintained honorable positions in the old country, and were well calculated to guide the course of a new one. To their influence is to be attributed the fact that the colony of Massachusetts Bay soon outstripped the others in growth and vigor. In the ten years of the colony's existence before Vane's arrival the formative elements of a great empire had been gradually organized, representing in miniature the jostling of principles at the same time going on in England. The colony, though small in numbers, had become of great importance to the World, as bearing in its bosom the stamina from which the great prairies of the west were to be populated with a thriving and free people—from which principles were to be evolved that should govern a great Republic.

It was a noble thought of the Dorchester Puritan to plant a pure religion among the quiet shades of America, "and who could doubt that at the voice of undefiled religion the wilderness would change to a paradise for a people who lived under a bond with the omnipotent God?"

The colony founded in this spirit grew more rapidly than any of the companies which had preceded it to the shores of America. The influence of the stockholders of the company in the mother country brought over a large number of immigrants and in the year Vane arrived about three thousand settlers were added to this Puritan colony—nearly all of them Puritans imbued with republicanism.

It has always been the pride and boast of the Puritan refugees who planted the colony of Massachusetts Bay, that

their object was to establish for themselves freedom of religious worship. Their cant phrases—their disgust for Maypoles—their respect for Old Testament quotations—their peculiar language and customs would not conform to the Church of England and they had fretted away all hopes of reforming the errors and vices so deeply *rooted* in their parent religion and government, and they had determined to build up a pure religious establishment upon the desolate *shores* of New England. Their cant and their sombre dress and manners were not in fashion in England, but they had determined upon erecting a new dynasty with institutions and habits peculiarly *their* own. It has always been remarked that a slave makes the most cruel and arbitrary of slave drivers, and it is upon this principle alone that we can account for the intolerance of the early New England settlers. At home they had been the *persecuted* of the government and the ridicule of the court. They had all their lives groaned under cruel exactions and unjust burthens. It was now their turn to persecute. And human nature, always inconsistent, exhibited her crowning inconsistency in the colony of Massachusetts Bay.

Those who had left their country on account of religious enthusiasm, brought with them a spiritual pride and arrogance that was more intolerant than the government which they had fled. The year before Vane's arrival the magistrates had banished Roger Williams from the colony, and a party spirit had sprung up as intolerant and bigoted as ever disgraced the annals of fanaticism.

Bancroft has thus aptly embodied the elements at war, in the colony, when Vane arrived:

"Amidst the arrogance of spiritual pride, the vagaries of undisciplined imaginations, and the extravagancies to which the intellectual power may be led in its pursuit of ultimate principles, the formation of two distinct parties may be perceived. The first consisted of the original settlers, the framers of the civil government, and their adherents; they who were intent on the foundation and preservation of a commonwealth and were satisfied with the established order of society. They had founded their government on the basis of the church, and church membership could be obtained only by the favor of the clergy and

an exemplary life. They dreaded unlimited freedom of opinion as the parent of ruinous divisions. The cracks and flaws in the new building of the reformation, thought they, portend a fall. They desired patriotism, union and a common heart; they were earnest to confirm and build up the state, the child of their cares, and their sorrows. They were reproached with being priest-ridden magistrates, under a covenant of works.

"The other party was composed of individuals, who had arrived after the civil government of the colony had been established. They came fresh from the study of the tenets of Geneva, and their pride consisted in following the principles of the reformation with logical precision to all their consequences. Their eyes were not primarily directed to the institutions of Massachusetts, but to the doctrines of their religious system. They had come to the wilderness for freedom of religious opinion; and they resisted every form of despotism over the mind. To them the clergy of Massachusetts were the 'ushers of persecution, popish factors, who had not imbibed the true doctrines of Christian reform,' and they applied to the influence of the Puritan ministers the principle which Luther and Calvin had employed against the observance and pretensions of the Roman Church. Every political opinion, every philosophical tenet, assumed in those days a theological form; with the doctrine of justification by faith alone they derided the formality of the established religion and by asserting that the Holy Ghost dwells in every believer, that the revelation of the Spirit is superior to the ministry of the word, they sustained with intense fanaticism the permanent authority of private judgment."

Shortly after Vane's arrival he was elected Governor of the colony, as the successor of Winthrop, who was one of the original patentees of the company, and had been selected as its first Governor. Vane's election was not a triumph of either one of these parties. In a party division it is not likely that one so young and inexperienced in the condition of the colony would have been chosen. It was more probably a compliment to his distinguished abilities, and the elevated rank and favors, which he had left at home, to join the freemen of Massachusetts in their exile. The announcement of his election was received with immense enthusiasm by the people, and in addition to the

ordinary popular manifestations, a salute was fired from fifteen large vessels which were then in Boston harbor. The party controversies, which had given away for a time, to the extraordinary enthusiasm excited in the minds of the settlers by the appearance of a young lord of brilliant talents and finished education were, however, soon revived. The day upon which he assumed office saw a formidable clique arrayed against him including those who were properly suspicious of one so young and untried, and those who deemed themselves more capable of filling the position and were jealous of the enthusiasm which had carried him over their heads. This clique determined to embarrass his government; and the party divisions before alluded to were favorable to the success of their designs.

Vane had hardly taken his oath of office before a law was framed and brought forward by the magistrates, analogous to the alien law of England and the policy of passports in European governments. By this law it was proposed to submit the qualifications of each candidate, for admission as a member of the colony, to the magistrates, and that none were to be received except such as should be allowed and approved by them.

Vane opposed the measure as an act of intolerance, and upon this point the opposition to his administration, which had been fermenting since his accession, gradually began to center its forces. The feeling upon the question gradually increased—the first party which I have described, and which was headed by Winthrop, reasoned as follows: That as they were in their own country oppressed and in various ways afflicted in the exercise of their consciences and in the expression and enjoyment of their own religious principles and worship they would devise a scheme of society in which far removed from all who differed from them, they might enjoy their own institutions and profess their own principles without giving or suffering molestation and free from all divisions and dissent. Vane on the behalf of the other party held that they who in a large society had contended for right of conscience when they were themselves sufferers could not under any pretext in a society however small turn against others and upon points of speculative difference violate their rights of conscience because they had acquired the power and opportunity to do it.

It is easy for us to distinguish between the right and the wrong side of the question. Our country has adopted the principles espoused by Vane and his party, and there is no one who would willingly strike from our constitution this noble spirit of toleration. We can with difficulty conceive that Vane should have failed to convince the settlers of the palpable excellence of a government founded upon his views. We think it certainly curious that men should insist upon an adherence to measures against which they had so lately and so justly complained. The strife however in the colony waxed warm and exciting. The ministers nearly all took sides with the Winthrop party and against the Governor; and as has since been exhibited by the New England clergy, were the master spirits of fanaticism and intolerance.

Most all great political controversies have as we call them a side issue, and as in great battles the fate of the day is frequently settled by the taking of an inconsiderable outpost so it happened in this contest.

A woman, as she is described in history of "admirable understanding" and "profitable and sober carriage," of the name of Ann Hutchinson, had begun about this time to excite attention, and by her ability and eloquence drew after her a large party. Politics and religion were kindred subjects in those times, and Mrs. Hutchinson both in the pulpit and upon the stump was quite up to our present ideas of a strong-minded woman. It appears that the first difficulty in which Mrs. Hutchinson became involved was the entertaining a notion in regard to the peculiar office of the third person in the Trinity. She held that by the gift of the Holy Ghost, spoken of in Scripture, was meant an actual communication of the Spirit of God to the Believer. Upon this point all the ministers of the colony differed with her, excepting the Rev. Mr. Cotton, who was a **very** intimate friend of Vane, and her brother, John Wheelwright. Mrs. Hutchinson was at once denounced as a heretic, and, as she was supported and befriended by the Governor, who really thought that she was not much worse for her peculiar notion, the opposition to her theology was directed to the upsetting of his government. The election, which followed soon after for Governor, was between Winthrop and Vane, and produced the most ani-

mated and violent contest between the two parties, of which they were the respective exponents. Mrs. Hutchinson seems to have been the most efficient political supporter of Vane's re-election, and with true woman's constancy and courage, met the combined strength of the ministers. The ministers, however, had the advantage of Mrs. Hutchinson in being allowed to vote, and it seems that Wilson, one of the ministers, upon election day, took another most ungallant advantage of her sex, by climbing a tree and haranguing the electors in his most engrossing and exciting manner. What would have been the consequences of such an incident with our present notions of women's rights it is difficult to determine. Had one of our later female doctors of divinity been in the place of Mrs. Hutchinson, an adjoining tree, no doubt, would have furnished a position as high and impregnable as the one occupied by Wilson, and the result might have been different with the cause of civil liberty.

Wilson's speech, however, carried the day for Winthrop, and Vane and Cotton and Mrs. Hutchinson were in the minority. The law, which had been framed by the magistrates, was again brought forward. Vane was sent by the Boston people to represent them in the Legislature, but he was unable to stem the violent current of the majority. The law was quickly passed with the most active measures to enforce it.

But the spirit of the minority was not so easily subdued. Vane's constituents in Boston at once declared against its injustice and enormity, and when Governor Winthrop returned after the close of the session of the Legislature, the inhabitants refused to meet him upon his entry into town with the usual customs of respect, and the public mind generally throughout the colony showed much discontent upon the subject of the law, so that Winthrop was driven to make a public appeal in its behalf and his own. A warm controversy ensued in the newspapers and in printed pamphlets, much of which has perished. Much of it was useless and ephemeral. Many legal quibbles and much misapplied scripture were used on both sides, which were never worth preserving. But the true bent and meaning of each side has been preserved and will stand forever as a monument of the most important political struggle in the early history of this country.

Winthrop argued that the colony was a commonwealth, a body politic, formed by the consent of a certain company of people to inhabit together for their mutual safety and welfare, and made a very plausible plea upon this definition, for the arbitrary measures of the Legislature, in point of protecting the institutions which had been formed.

Vane answered that the same argument would justify the oppressions which they had fled in their own country, and the most cruel and tyrannical measures of papacy itself, and argued that there should be no standard of faith or arbitrary rule to reject any one from the colony on account of a mere speculative difference in their religious creed.

The idea of a large and powerful government had not been conceived, instituted upon a basis independent of religious establishments. Roger Williams exercised a sort of patriarchal toleration in his small village upon Narragansett Bay, but to the Statesman of England, a scheme of that kind was as unknown and untried as the fabled Indies before the first voyage of Columbus; and to those who came fresh from an English school of polities, Vane's argument was wild and visionary and they freely and liberally called him traitor and fanatic; and such would have been his infamy had not a future generation grasped his mighty aspirations and placed him high among the martyrs for truth and liberty.

Wintrop and his party, however, had the government, and as a natural consequence, gained the argument. Mrs. Hutchinson and her brother were banished, Cotton recanted, and Vane returned to England.

Vane was not driven from the colony by his defeat. His mind, as was afterwards proved, was not of the cast to be overcome by such reverses. It is perhaps impossible now to discover the exact motive which influenced him to return. But the war for civil and religious liberty had begun in his native country, and it was his fortune to be drawn thither, to mingle in that mighty revolution, which shook England to her foundation, and gave to him the crown of martyrdom.

It is quite likely that Vane's active mind foresaw that Colonial politics would be controlled by the course of events in England, and that he longed to enter the decisive struggle which

every day grew more threatening to the policy of King Charles.

The opposition to the ministry of George the Third led by the Younger Pitt in the House of Commons, more than half fought for us the battles of the Revolution. The speeches made in our Congress by the adversaries to President Polk's administration, impeded more than Santa Anna's army the conquests of General Scott. And had our noble army and its generals in the Mexican war been less energetic and brave, they would have been defeated by our Members of Congress, reclining in lazy dignity, and Santa Anna would for many a day have rested his wooden leg in quiet luxury in the Halls of the Montezumas.

It was, no doubt, in view of such results that Vane turned from his defeats in the colonies, to solve the problem of American toleration by returning to act his mighty part in the revolution soon to ensue upon his native soil. The contest, which he had been waging, in the colony of Massachusetts Bay, was but acting in miniature the great drama for which he was preparing. He changed only the scene from the shores of New England to throw the influence of his principles into the fountain from whence the stream of immigration was to flow. We must now with him take leave of the colony, and the esteem and admiration which his character and services had excited there and follow him back to England while perfecting his noble destiny.

Vane returned to England in 1637, having been absent somewhat over two years. During that time the contest between Charles the First and the House of Commons had grown warmer and the breach between the royal prerogatives and popular rights had been constantly widening. The advocates for popular rights, in the House of Commons had been strengthened by accessions of wealthy and talented men, and they had by prudence and firmness, obtained the confidence of the country, while Charles and his ministers, by their arrogance and feebleness, had lost much of the reverence and loyalty which with Englishmen has always clung closely to the royal blood.

Among the leaders of the popular party, John Hampden and John Pym had the most conspicuous position. Hampden had alone resisted the compulsory loan, imposed by Charles to brace his languishing revenue, and had won by his firmness a chief position as the friend of the people. A friendship had sprung

up between these two leaders and Vane through their connection with several colonial enterprises, and it was not long before he was induced by them to take an active part in the contest, and in April, 1640, he was elected and took a seat in Parliament as a representative of the Borough of Kingston upon Hull.

It was at this time, through the influence of his father, and to propitiate his hostility, that he received from the King the dignity of Knighthood and was appointed jointly with Sir William Russell to the office of treasurer of the navy—an office as the English navy then was of great trust and profit. He did not however bend by these allurements from his course, but was constantly in communication with Pym and Hampden, and entered into their plans. In November, 1640, the memorable Long Parliament was chosen and Vane was re-elected from the Borough of Kingston upon Hull, and took his seat as a member of that immortal body. He soon, in this position, made appear, how capable he was of managing great affairs, possessing in the highest perfection a quick and ready apprehension; a strong and tenacious memory; a profound and penetrating judgment; a just and noble eloquence, with an easy and graceful manner of speaking; a zeal and application for the good of the Commonwealth and a resolution and courage not to be shaken or diverted from the public service.

It is truly a memorable portion of English history when a parliament, drove from the throne a prince of the royal blood, dignified with the sacred honors of the spirit of religion and chivalry—the repository of prerogatives traceed from the misty confines of oblivion, and tried, convicted and executed him as an ordinary criminal. It is a never to be forgotten contest in which the liberties of Englishmen were then involved.

The principle upon which human society is based never received so ardent a discussion and thorough sifting as took place in England during the existence of the Long Parliament. More daring innovations have never been attempted in an established government than were undertaken at that time by the popular leaders. So important and thorough was the struggle to the interests of England that the parties which were organized in that contest have continued upon the same divisions from that time to this, and the hostilities which then formed the dividing line be-

tween the Whigs and the Tories have not by the lapse of over two hundred years been effaced.

In this struggle Vane entered with all the power and eloquence of his ardent soul, and during thirteen years of its uninterrupted existence no measure of importance was agitated unless the name of Vane appears prominent among the actors, and at no time did he swerve from his direct and consistent course.

In an unselfish devotion to his country, his character certainly presents a most remarkable example. When the final appeal to arms was made between the King and the Parliament, Vane surrendered the office he had held under Charles, but was reappointed sole treasurer of the navy by the Parliament. The fees of this office were immense in time of peace, but during the war which followed with Holland they were estimated to have amounted to thirty thousand pounds per annum. These fees out of regard to the public necessities he voluntarily paid into the public treasury. Nor were these his only sacrifices. Sikes, in speaking of his conduct, says that "in attending to the arduous duties of his office, and in the House of Commons, and upon several committees, during the time he sat in the Long Parliament, he was engaged from early morning till very late at night, having scarce any leisure to eat his bread, converse with his nearest relatives, or, at all, to mind his family affairs."

His energy was equally remarkable. In public and in private, on the floor of the House and upon its committees, and in watchful earnestness upon the field of battle, Vane was acknowledged by all as the foremost man of the times.

During the second year of the war, Hampden was slain, at the head of his regiment, and the health of Pym failed, so that he was withdrawn from public life, and soon died, and the chief conduct of affairs devolved upon Vane. He had now risen with the dangers of the times, the most eminent statesman of an age remarkable for greatness—the acknowledged leader of the English House of Commons. Had he been ambitious, there was no position so high at which he might not have grasped. Had he been selfish there was no one to prevent its full gratification. Had he been avaricious he might have hoarded immense wealth. But his zeal for his principles and his country had purified his nature, and left only his noble aspirations for her liberties. Mil-

ton, who was sparing of eulogy and saved his strains of adulation for the praise of Angels, was struck with admiration of his eminent abilities and conscientious purity of purpose and addressed to him at this time his famous Sonnet:

“Vane young in years but in sage counsel old.
 Than whom a better Senator ne'er held
 The helm of Rome, when gowns, not arms, repelled
 The fierce Epirot and the African bold.
 Whether to settle peace or to unfold
 The drift of hollow states hard to be spelled:
 Then to advise how war may, best upheld,
 More by her two main nerves, Iron and Gold,
 In all her equipage: besides to know
 Both spiritual power and civil, what each means,
 What severs each, thou hast learned, which few have done;
 The bounds of either sword to thee we owe:
 Therefore on thy firm hand Religion leans
 In peace, and reckons thee her eldest son.”

Vane was the true representative of the longings of the English people for civil and religious freedom. And the acts of his life were the impulses of a heart beating in unison with her noblest liberties. But he was doomed to disappointment in realizing the hopes for which he was so zealously devoting his life. His example; his ability; his conscientious purity, were unavailing to check the current of events from falling a prey to individual selfishness and ambition.

If Vane had been successful, the victories of Napoleon would have sunk into insignificance, in comparison with the magnificent results of his achievements, for

“Peace hath her victories
 No less renowned than war.”

But his peculiar genius was less adapted to the honors of success, than to reap immortality from defeat. He was not of that peculiar habit of mind which readily adapts itself to the current of events, and suffers itself to be led gradually along into power and greatness. He had a fixed and settled determination, which could not be turned aside by selfish or ambitious considerations. His object was to engraft upon the existing English government

the necessary checks to protect the people from the arbitrary will of the monarch, and at the same time to secure to them freedom of religious belief. For this purpose he had entered Parliament and taken sides against the King. For this, he had, when the monarchists withdrew, taken sides against the Presbyterians. For this, he had refused to co-operate with the radical measures of the Independents. For this, when the Presbyterians, though his adversaries were forcibly excluded from the House of Commons in 1648 by the army, he also absented himself and refused to become a party to the execution of Charles **the First**. And for this, when the King had been executed, and monarchy overthrown, and a commonwealth attempted, Vane reluctantly consented to fill a seat in the council of State, and resuming his seat as a legislator, amidst the floating wreck of the English constitution, he clung to the existing Parliament as the only fragment on which it was possible to rescue English liberty.

Without connecting himself with any of the parties, in the ascendent by turns, in Parliament, by his abilities as a Statesman, he had thus far held the controlling influence in its deliberations and guided its course towards the accomplishment of his purpose. His energy had given to the army the means of accomplishing its victories; to the navy its efficient organization, and if the one was able to cope with the forces of Charles upon the land, and the other with Holland on the sea, the glory of the preparations was Vane's. And when success had been accomplished upon all these points, he directed his labors to the remnant of the Parliament, and turned his energies and active genius once more to the purification of liberty, at its source, and to fix popular rights upon a firm and enduring basis.

Upon the 20th of April, 1653, thirteen years after his first entry into Parliament, we find Vane hurrying down to the House of Commons, resolved to make a last effort to sustain the Republic. A bill had been prepared and reported by him, as chairman of a select committee, and had passed then to the committee of the whole, by which it was intended to provide for the termination of this Parliament, which had been continued so long, and to fix a proper representative basis for the choosing of its successor. The exact character and details of the bill could never be determined on account of the violent scene which

followed during the day. But it was proved by an article which appeared in the London Times in the year 1831, that the main provisions of the bill prepared by Vane had been closely followed in the Reform Bill, as it was styled, which was brought forward and passed by Parliament in that year. The Bill which had been thus prepared by Vane had received all its amendments in the Grand Committee of the whole House, and had been set down for this morning and Vane had come into Parliament to implore its immediate passage, and urged the most pressing reasons to hazard no delay. The Bill among other things provided for the disbanding of the army, which was no longer needed by Parliament, and which then amounted to about fifty thousand men and was an immense expense to the nation.

Upon this point it excited the hostility of Cromwell, who was the idol and leader of the Independents, a party whose chief strength and virtue was derived from the influence of the army.

Cromwell and Vane had acted together in Parliament, but at this point their courses became separate and distinct. They had never had each other's confidence, and from the dissimilarity of their aims there had always existed a secret distrust and jealousy between them which in the discussion of this bill had ripened into an actual and bitter hatred. Cromwell desired to secure the government of England to his family, Vane to vindicate it for the people. With such dissimilarity of views, it is not strange that distrust should change to hatred.

Cromwell was a ripe scholar in hypocrisy, and had turned the peculiar religious fanaticism of his day to a most curious use in advancing his ambitious purpose. On the night previous to Vane's last effort for the passage of his dissolution bill, Cromwell had openly proposed and carried in a council of the officers of the army a resolution to drive out the Parliament and take possession of the Government. So thoroughly had he imbued the army with his affection of piety, that Col. Harrison, one of the "Fifth Monarchy men," gravely assured the Council that Cromwell's design in this resolution was only to pave the way for the Government of Jesus and His Saints. Major Streater, who, as was afterwards proved, understood Cromwell better, quickly replied with a profane jest, that Jesus ought to come quickly, for if He delayed until after Christmas he would come

too late. The Council after the passage of this resolution, adjourned to the following morning, and were in session at White-hall while the debate was progressing upon Vane's bill in the Parliament. Presently Colonel Ingoldsby appeared from the House in violent haste and excitement and told Cromwell that if he meant to do anything that there was no time to lose. Cromwell hastily commanded a party of soldiers to be marched round to the House of Commons, and attended by Lambert and five or six other officers, at once proceeded there himself.

In plain black clothes, with gray worsted stockings, Cromwell quietly made his appearance on the floor of the House of Commons. Vane was urging, passionately, the necessity of proceeding to the last stage of the bill, with the omission of immaterial forms, such as the ceremony of engrossing. Cromwell stood a moment and then sat down with his meek puritanic air, as he used to do in an ordinary place. After a few moments he beckoned to Harrison. "Now is the time," he said, "I must do it." Harrison doubtful, at the instant, of the effect of what Vane was urging, advised him to consider. "The work, sir," he added, "is very great and dangerous." "You say well," replied the General, and sat still for another quarter of an hour. The question was now being put when Cromwell suddenly starting up, loaded the Parliament with the vilest reproaches for their tyranny, ambition, oppression and robbery of the Republic. Vane rose to remonstrate, when Cromwell, as if suddenly astonished himself, at the extraordinary part he was playing, stopped and said: "You think, perhaps, that this is not parliamentary language. I know it." Then he put on his hat, went out of his place and walked up and down the floor, in the midst of the House, with his hat on his head and chid them soundly, looking sometimes at Vane and addressing him with sharp language and the wildest gestures. "One person" he said, aiming his long and uncomely gesture at Vane, "might have prevented this, but he was a juggler, and had not as much as common honesty. The Lord had done with him, however, and had chosen honester and worthier instruments for carrying on His work." Vane's voice was once more heard for the bill seconded by Peter Wentworth and Harry Martin. "Come! come!" raved Cromwell, "I'll put an end to your prating. You are no parliament; I'll put an end

to your sitting. Begone! Give way to honester men." He then stamped his foot very heavily upon the floor. The door opened and he was surrounded by musketeers, with arms ready. He then ordered his soldiers to seize the speakers' mace and himself tearing up the bill which was under discussion, and was lying upon the speaker's table, he drove the members out of the Hall. As the members passed Cromwell, he addressed the leading men with passionate bitterness. He accused Allen of embezzlement. He pointed Challence out to his soldiers as a drunkard, and others he called gluttons, extortioners, and the like. As Vane passed him, among the last, he stopped in his rapid use of adjectives to recall some vice, with which he could charge his great rival and then addressed to him in a loud and troubled voice, the memorable words: "Sir Henry Vane! Sir Henry Vane! The Lord deliver me from Sir Henry Vane!"

Cromwell was now master of the kingdom. He seized the records and commanding the doors to be locked went away to Whitehall.

Some few days, the usurpation saw Vane quietly seated at Raby Castle. Here, amid his family, he again devoted himself to philosophy and religion in the quiet and retirement of his country residence, maturing his plan for a new occasion to strike for what had become to him the Good Old Cause. From his retirement he issued a treatise upon government, embodying the philosophic reflections of his political life. He in this treatise proposed what was then thought and perhaps truly was visionary and impracticable for England, but which was closely followed in the new order of things, which has sprung up in her colonies upon this side of the Atlantic.

At the death of Cromwell Vane was chosen a member of the parliament summoned by his son Richard and he again took the lead of the few Republican members who had been able to obtain an admission into that packed house, and by his ability defeated the efforts of the Court Party to confirm the government in Richard Cromwell, and as a leading member of the Committee of Safety, he reported a bill for the future settlement of the government upon the basis to which he had devoted his life.

But such services were past forever. The people were now drunk with the orgies of the Restoration and by a sudden reaction,

their minds became disgusted with their liberties which had fallen a prey to fanaticism and selfishness, and they had returned eagerly to their reverence for monarchy.

All England was in ecstasy for the Restoration of Charles the Second. Men forgot liberty in their eagerness for a king. Those who had been the latest advocates for popular rights endeavored to throw oblivion over their acts by excess of loyalty. The old royalists who had clung with unwavering fidelity to the cause of their King, gathered in most exciting groups to drink the health of the young monarch. In the midst of universal gladness, the triumph of the royal party was undisputed, and the fury of all parties to return to their old allegiance prevented the adoption of any compact or treaty between the returning King and the people.

The party of the restoration soon looked around for victims to atone for the violence which had marked the interregnum. Retributive Justice might perhaps justly have required the execution of the Regicides, and those who failed to make their escape to New England were soon tried and executed. But it was certainly a sad and bitter revenge which excepted the genius and integrity of Vane from the royal clemency in its hour of triumph. He had been kept in prison, while the King under the management of Lord Clarendon was maturing a plan by which they might rid themselves of a man to whom they attributed a mischievous activity.

By the Bill of Indemnity Vane had been excepted by parliament upon the promise that if an attainder was found against him his execution should be remitted. But Lord Clarendon's hatred of Vane, which was of a most bitter and spiteful character, and so deep that the death of its victim was unable to sate it, and which has infused itself with refined cruelty into the fountains of history to blast the fame of a man he feared and hated, could not easily be disappointed of its vengeance. After Vane had been moved around from prison to prison for two years, a parliament was assembled more sycophantic to the royal will and more pliable to Clarendon's purpose. Contrary to the royal promise Vane is now brought to the ceremonies of a mock trial and on the 2nd of June, 1662, he was arraigned before the Court of Kings' bench on an indictment found against him

by the Grand Jury for treason. Besides the Attorney General and Solicitor of the Crown, four of the most eminent lawyers of the Kingdom were engaged on behalf of the prosecution.

The zeal of Clarendon, whet by the anxiety of the King, to get rid of a man, esteemed too dangerous to let live, was not to be disappointed by a failure of honest measures in the dispatch of its victim; and with this array of authority, influence and learning on one side, and Vane alone, and denied the aid of counsel, upon the other, what could result, but a decent legal murder. A jury of Royalists were summoned to listen to the tedious argument of points of law they could not understand and finally to find a verdict against one whom they knew it would be esteemed a proper loyalty to condemn.

Amid such circumstances, it was not likely that Vane expected an acquittal. But he knew that the eyes of his friends in England and America were directed towards him and conscious that he was not so much defending his own life as the cause of Liberty which had become to him far dearer, he faced his judges with a courage that gradually assumed an animated fearlessness. Instead of offering apologies for his course he denied the imputation of treason against his country with settled scorn, defended the rights of Englishman to be governed by successive representatives, and took glory to himself for actions which promoted the good of England, and were sanctioned by Parliament as the virtual sovereign of the realm. He spoke not for his life or estate, but for the honor of the martyrs to liberty, that were in their graves for the liberties of England—for the interest of all posterity in time to come. His argument was eloquent and conclusive as a vindication of his own innocence and the cause of human liberty; but was lost upon a jury who were the servile instruments of the royal wish. Before they returned however, the Attorney General, who was the eccentric Sir Geoffrey Palmer, a royalist so rigid, that during the Commonwealth, he always wrote the name Oliver with a small o., was allowed to converse with them apart, and exhibit to them a letter from the King, in which he wrote that Vane was too dangerous a man to let live, if he could be safely put out of the way. It took but a short time for the jury to relieve the anxiety of Clarendon and the King by finding a verdict of guilty. Without avail Vane

pleaded the promise of the King that he would remit the sentence. Without avail he cited the Statute of Edward Third granting an assignment of errors. With indecent haste he was sentenced to suffer upon the block.

The same cheerful resignation, which he exhibited upon his trial, animated him on the day of his execution. As the procession moved through the streets, men from the windows and tops of houses expressed their sorrow, pouring out prayers for him as he passed by, and the people shouted aloud: "God go with you." Arrived at the scaffold, he was observable above all the others by the intrepidity of his demeanor. Surveying the vast surrounding multitude with composure he addressed them and sought to awaken in their souls the love of English liberty. And when his voice was overpowered by trumpets he was not in the least disconcerted by the rudeness, but, in the serenity of his manner, continued to show with what calmness an honest patriot could die. With unbroken trust in Providence he believed in the progress of civilization; and while he reminded those around him that "he had foretold the dark clouds which were coming thicker and thicker for a season," it was still most clear to the eye of his faith that a better day would dawn. His eyes were with his heart then in the future home of freedom upon the shores of America, and with the prophetic vision of death he saw the triumph of Democratic principles which has been so fully verified in our own land of liberty.

We have thus far traced Vane as a youthful legislator in the fresh and dawning vigor of our colonial existence; we have seen him as he grew older grappling the giant institutions of England, and seizing the massive pillars of tyranny, like Samson, tear them down upon the oppressors; we have seen him like David, elaborating in his mind the massive rooms and corridors of the temple of Jerusalem, leave the glory of completing the grand design, as an inheritance to his posterity; and we have seen the noble materials of his genius, more valuable than the cedars of Lebanon or the gold of Ophir, borne by the stream of emigration from the shores of England and fitly joined together in the new temple of freedom upon the shores of America.

True genius, unappreciated by its own age, throws its bright scintillations far across the lapse of ages, and looms bright and

steady before the eyes of posterity. In this way Vane like Columbus has become the peculiar property of the American historian; and to him belongs the duty, to rescue his fame from the slanders and party prejudices of Clarendon and kindred English writers, and to crown his greatness and virtue with becoming laurels.

While it is the peculiar glory of Columbus, that his mind ran far out into physical speculation, beyond the beaten track of Commerce; it is no less the glory of Vane, that he pushed his daring course across the untried regions of philosophical speculation, to the extreme bounds of human liberty. Together they were the pioneers of a new civilization. They led in separate capacities the forlorn hope, to seize from the grasp of savage life, from the sway of despotism an immense country to be dedicated to the noblest impulses, the sublimer ends of our social existence. They have opened a large field upon which the human race untrammeled by tyranny may more perfectly accomplish the objects of its creation.

"In sight of mortal and immortal powers
As on a boundless theatre to run
The great career of Justice."

A noble gratitude for his genius has given Columbus a place in the affections of the American patriot, for adding to the bounds of civilization the area of this vast Continent; but equal gratitude is due to him by whose influence there has been engrafted upon this fair inheritance the noble principle of Universal Toleration.

MR. LOUNSBERRY'S LECTURE.

(From the Kingston Journal, by Dr. Charles DeWitt.)

The address before the Kingston Literary Association on Friday evening last, was delivered by William Lounsberry of this place. His subject was "Sir Henry Vane, the Younger." The lecture was an excellent production, well delivered. He portrayed Vane as he really was—one of the earliest advocates of popular rights and religious toleration. The biographical sketch of his career, was succinct and impressive. The young religious

disputant, defending his creed when charged by his father and the ecclesiastical dignitary with heresy—the governor of Massachusetts, struggling to establish religious toleration in his colony; his eventual defeat by Winthrop, the head of the intolerant faction; his departure for England; the distinguished part he took among his religious cotemporaries, Pym, Hampden and Cromwell, during that era of liberty in English history; Cromwell dissolving the long parliament, the return of the dissolute and treacherous Charles, the infamous trial and execution of the hero—were points presented to his auditors in a graphic and eloquent manner, interspersed with touches of exquisite humor and thrilling pathos.

MR. LOUNSBERRY'S LECTURE.

(From Ulster Republican, Feb., 1857, by A. Schoonmaker, Jr.)

The lecture of William Lounsbury, Esq., upon "Sir Henry Vane the Younger," before the Kingston Literary Association, on Friday evening, February 27th, was a performance meriting especial commendation.—Vane was a man who by reason of his eminent abilities, his spotless integrity and moral worth, his important and valuable services to mankind and the heroism of his death, was worthy the highest meed of praise, and Mr. Lounsbury's lecture was an eloquent and appropriate tribute, both to the character of the man and the great principles with which his name is identified.

Mr. Lounsbury took broad and generous views of the principles which Vane labored to enforce, and his lecture had the peculiar merit of inculcating the doctrines which constitute the foundation, the very essence of Democracy—civil liberty, and religious toleration, in the literal and most enlarged sense of these terms. It is the upholding of these principles which constitutes the strength and glory of the Democratic party of this country, and it is because the party is founded on such a rock that it stands proudly invincible to all the calumnies and assaults of fanaticism, intolerance and treason in whatever forms they may arise.

Mr. Lounsbury also rebuked in caustic terms those meddle-

some demagogues of these modern days who have the name of liberty upon their lips, but have none of its spirit in their hearts—who cry liberty! liberty! from pulpit and rostrum, and who, under pretence of a zeal for the service of God and the welfare of man, become persecutors, revilers, oppressors and plunderers of their brethren—who make the sacred name of liberty a by-word and reproach by associating it exclusively with the negro, while to the white man they scruple not to deny the enjoyment of the simplest elements of liberty. This class which might otherwise have passed silently into oblivion, has by one act of unparalleled audacity secured for itself an immortality of infamy. This was the impudent attempt of the three thousand New England parsons to exalt themselves above all that is called God or worshipped and in the name and by the authority of the Most High God to dictate what must be done and what must not be done, by the National Congress, the supreme legislative power of the Country. And such is the habitual reverence of the American people for their religious teachers, that the greater portion of them were for a time over awed by this daring usurpation of the Priesthood. But a healthy reaction soon followed and the three thousand Dominies are now considered three thousand knaves or simpletons, and will be remembered by posterity with about as much honor as the three hundred foxes which owe their mention in history to the illumination they once enjoyed from Sampson's firebrands.

But to return to the lecture. Mr. Lounsbury's sketch of the career of Vane was concise and well arranged, and brought out in a clear and forcible manner the principal events of his life. The portion of the lecture which narrated that romantic episode in Vane's life—his New England experience—was particularly graphic and felicitous. It exhibited in a clear and happy manner the state of the colony upon Vane's arrival, the joy of the people at receiving a young nobleman among them, his enthusiastic election as Governor the diversity which soon arose in relation to the proposed law to drive out all who differed with the colonists in religious or political belief, Vane's opposition to the act and his controversy with Gov. Winthrop concerning it, in which he contended manfully for the broad principles of toleration, the appearance of the brilliant and eccentric Anne Hutchinson with

her theological heterodoxy that the Holy Ghost was a mere influence, and not a person of the trinity, the war between her and the clergy, her support by Vane, the succeeding colonial election when one of the Winthrop party, a Rev. Mr. Wilson, harangued the crowd from the branch of a tree—but such a crowd! no lightness, in difference or venality there, but all stern, earnest and zealous, and each man a theologian, statesman and hero, the defeat of Vane, the subsequent honors his friends bestowed upon him, and his final return to England.

The name of Vane is an illustrious one in English history. Long before the time of Charles I, the family had become a noted and powerful one, and under that monarch the father of Sir Henry the Younger held the office of Cofferer and was a member of the Privy Council. Young Sir Henry was born in 1612 and received a finished education in his own country, when he set out to travel upon the continent and sojourned for awhile at Geneva. At that place he became imbued with the Calvanistic theology, and the principles of civil and religious liberty became firmly rooted in his mind. On his return to England his liberal views in religious and political matters met the disapproval of his father and the King, and to enjoy his principles without molestation he determined to emigrate to the Colony of Massachusetts Bay in America. He arrived there in 1635, was elected Governor, which office he held for a year, and returned to England in 1637. The King then being in trouble with his subjects received him graciously and appointed him to a high office. In 1640 he was elected a member of the famous Long Parliament. And it was upon a secret document discovered by Vane and communicated by him to John Pym, that the impeachment of the Earl Strafford was founded, resulting in the final execution of that ambitious nobleman.

He continued to hold his seat in this Parliament through the contest with the King till his execution in 1649—to which act Vane was opposed—and acted likewise as Commissioner and Treasurer of the Navy down to 1653, when Cromwell violently broke up the Parliament and dispersed the members. Vane then went into private life and devoted himself to literary and religious studies, and published some interesting and valuable works.

At this period he prepared and published his famous work called "A Healing Question," in which he enunciated his views of Government, and his ideas of religious toleration, reflecting pretty severely upon Cromwell's ambitious designs. Cromwell became exasperated and imprisoned Vane. He soon released him however, but vented his spite by instigating multitudinous law suits against him concerning the title to his estates. When Oliver Cromwell died and was succeeded by his son Richard in 1659 a new Parliament assembled, of which Vane was a member. His first act was to make a speech in which he denounced Richard and protested his determination not to submit to him. His eloquence and logic carried the Parliament with him, and Richard was compelled to abdicate.

Vane and his coadjutors then set resolutely to work to provide for the affairs of the nation, but while engaged devising a constitution and plan of Government which would secure the liberty and welfare of the English people, the notorious Gen. Monk betrayed his country to her oppressors, and the royal family was restored in the person of Charles II. Vane's public labors were now at an end. He again sought retirement in private life. But he was considered dangerous to the peace of the King, and after being imprisoned and harassed for a couple of years, was finally put upon trial for treason, and after suffering every personal indignity, and perversion of justice that corrupt and truckling judges could be guilty of, he was at length by an equally corrupt and intimidated jury pronounced guilty, but not till he had covered himself with glory by the genius eloquence learning and heroism of his defence. His sentence and execution soon followed, but his dignity attended him to the last, and it is said of him that he met death like a King. Vane's death took place in 1662, he being then just fifty years of age.

The English nation was so shocked and excited at the unnecessary and cruel execution of Vane, that the King was obliged to restore all the estates to his family, and received his son shortly afterwards as a member of his privy Council.

The Vane family has continued to be honored and honorable from that period down to the present, and has kept up a traditional attachment to liberal principles.— In 1832 the representative of the family, William Henry Vane though his private

interests were strongly against it, voted for the reform bill. For this patriotic act the King created him Duke of Cleveland with the title of Baron Raby, which titles were made hereditary in the family.

Sir Henry Vane was undoubtedly a great man, as well as a good man. His stainless integrity of character was the more remarkable on account of the corrupt age in which he lived. His piety was sincere and fervent, and that he was thought worthy to suffer death on account of his uprightness, is the best testimony to his worth. His services on behalf of civil and religious liberty were great. He was through life a constant advocate of religious tolerations.— He clearly comprehended the idea on which freedom of conscience is founded, and it is really so simple and obvious that the wonder is men could ever lose sight of it more especially as it is inculcated so distinctly and repeatedly in Sacred Writ. It is simply the idea that before God all men are perfectly equal and that religion being the homage and worship due from all alike to the almighty, he alone possesses the prerogative of prescribing the nature and mode of that worship.

No effort is required to understand this truth, but the idea of perfect civil liberty goes a step farther. That rests on equality of man with man. This Vane does not appear to have reached. The farthest he seems to have gone in his plans was to abolish the Kingly office and substitute a government by a number of trustees and to extend the elective franchise to all possessing a property qualification of a thousand dollars, leaving the classes and ranks in society as they were. This to us, appears but a small progress toward civil liberty, as we enjoy it, but it would have been a vast step at that time. Vane's darling object was to have written a constitution, which he regarded the very foundation of security and liberty. But it was his fate to die without realizing his generous hopes. Their realization was reserved for a later period and another land.

With more executive force, Vane might have accomplished more good and prevented more mischief, but he did well in his day, and has left behind him a name to be admired and praised, and the reputation of an upright man and Christian statesman.

THE ULSTER REGIMENT IN THE “GREAT REBELLION.”

By William Lounsbury, Esq.

(From Ulster Historical Collections, Vol. I.)

PREFACE.

The stirring events of the present year are all fit subjects for history. It will be the duty of this Society, which has undertaken the care of the annals of Ulster County, to gather up the materials, as the fragments fall from the incidents of war and political disintegration, so that none shall be lost.

This is excuse enough for putting into a tangible shape the reminiscences of the late campaign of the Ulster County regiment of Militia, called into the service of the General Government for the defence of the Capital, and the suppression of the Southern rebellion.

Recollections are soon lost; and with armies of half a million in the field upon each side, there is danger that the patriotic efforts of the beginning may be crowded out of mind by the more momentous achievements which are actively in progress. It is only a proper fidelity to Ulster County fame, to put these early transactions of the war into a reliable shape.

Kingston, October 16, 1861.

CHAPTER I.

The Government of United States of America, though established upon the heel of a brilliant and successful revolution, was formed peculiarly for peace. It was the creature of a war involving great personal sacrifices, yet its framers made the new

Constitution only with an eye to growth and prosperous peace, without a single prophetic vision into the turmoils to rend the fair work of their hands into fragments. Scarcely a single person looked beyond the partisan bickerings of the day. Adverse interests were known to exist—the antagonisms of sections were heard, loud and threatening, in Congress and on the stump, preceding the stated National elections, but nothing was prophesied—at least nothing was believed to exist of sufficient force to offset the glorious achievements, the National pride, and the rapid and healthy growth and progress of the country.

The standing army of the General Government from motives of economy has always been an insignificant force; and from the great extent of the National domain it became scattered and disorganized. In lieu thereof reliance was placed upon the militia of the different States, which had become organized into a system of military defence, more or less mature. New York encouraged such organizations by devoting a trifling tax to the support of the service, and furnishing arms to those who enrolled and uniformed themselves according to law; and in this way had enrolled several corps of Infantry and Artillery, that could appear with credit by the side of veteran battalions of European armies. The New England States had also militia organizations on a similar plan. In the South, too, on a more private basis, several corps existed, with equipments and arms of the best pattern, purchased by individual contributions. One corps of Znaves, organized in the West, on a similar plan, had even outstripped in drill and efficiency the European standard of this arm of service, so widely famed in the late war in Italy.

It will be seen that the efficiency of these military organizations, from the pacific nature of our laws, depended mainly upon the military spirit and enterprise of individuals; for the same reason that had prevented the General Government from supporting an expensive military establishment, had operated against large appropriations in that direction by the States.

Military organizations thus created had been content with mutual acts of friendship, and rivalry—visiting and entertaining, and emulating each other in drill and appearance, little apprehending the approach of a great war.

The Regiment of Ulster County militia was the growth of

the same spirit, and in 1857 perfected a new organization, and assumed the name of the "Ulster Guard." It adopted an uniform dress similar to the Regular Army, received arms from the State, adopted the Light Infantry drill, and by dint of untiring energy under the command of Col. Geo. W. Pratt, soon became one of the best organized and efficient regiments of the State. It was attached to the Eighth Brigade, commanded by Gen. H. A. Samson, and was much aided by his energy and military spirit in acquiring its rank in the State service.

In 1858, Gen. Samson's Brigade went into camp for instruction at Kingston. The two village corporations of Kingston and Rondout, appreciating the effort to make the Ulster Guard efficient and to show a fit tribute to the officers and men, procured a stand of colors, and took this occasion to present them in behalf of the villages. The presentation drew a very large concourse of citizens, and took place at the Camp Ground, between the two villages, on the 31st of August, 1858. The presentation address was made by the Hon. Wm. S. Kenyon. It is of interest here, as throwing light upon the motives of those who then patronized the militia.

He said:

"Colonel and Officers and Soldiers of the Ulster Guard: The vast importance to a free and independent people of a duly organized and efficient citizen soldiery, both in a civil and political aspect, requires at our hands no proclamation.

The Constitution of this great State—the text book of our chartered civil and political rights—proclaims it by a recognized equality between the civil and military branches of the Government. So close a relationship is established by Constitutional parentage between those branches, that the Governor, the great civil head, is declared to be the Commander in Chief of the military and naval forces of the State. An union so complete, an intimacy so vital to each, must of necessity prompt a sense of mutual dependency, and incite to an open expression of regard. Eminently meet and natural is it that the civil and municipal authorities everywhere should proffer the right hand of fellowship to the military, and testify before the world to a recognition of a common origin, and one and the same destiny.

The corporations of Kingston and Rondout here convened, by

their representatives, recognizing you as an honorable and distinguished member of that noble body of organized citizens, of which the Empire State has reason ever to be proud, seize this opportunity to tender you a testimonial of their high appreciation of your merits as soldiers, and through me to express an abiding sense of your worth as citizens and as men. The flag of his country, emblazoned all over with an ever increasing galaxy of stars, symbolical of a prosperous union of free and independent States, which, God grant, may never be dissolved, must to the heart of every American soldier prove a cherished souvenir.

Receive these colors at our hands. Preserve them in remembrance of an occasion so pregnant with interest, and of a scene in which you act so conspicuous a part. A thousand holy recollections will forever cluster around them. The very Heavens that are now smiling down upon you, these old hills that lie crouching all about you with expansive ear, listening to catch the very accent of this scene; the very ground on which you stand, enriched by patriotic blood, and teeming with savory memories of revolutionary times, will at sight of them again and again start out before your mind's eye with all the vividness of the present.

Accept them as they are. Would that it were possible with a graphic touch to represent upon them your future glories. When Aeneas received from his goddess mother the shield which Vulcan had wrought out, he beheld with loving eyes all over it a prophetic history of the future achievements and glory of his race. A wise Providence has denied to us the power of tearing aside the veil which hangs between you and the fulfilment of your hopes. You will read upon this simple gift—no prophetic revelation; but you will not fail to discover on every fold some divine memento, traced there by the tender hand of memory.

Accept them and guard them with a valiant heart, and may they, like that stand of heavenly colors flung out by Israel's God, a pillow of cloud by day and a pillow of fire by night, introduce you to a full and free fruition of your dearest hopes."

Col. Pratt replied as follows:

"Mr. President and Gentlemen: In behalf of the Ulster Guard I thank you for this beautiful gift, and the kind expressions of

appreciation with which it is accompanied. The soldiers constituting my command, cherish the homes and firesides of their country, and it needs no incentive to earn a pledge of their protection; but it is a proud pleasure to them, that the municipal authorities of the two largest villages of Ulster, have taken this occasion to express their regard.

We appreciate the honor you have done us, and we promise that if this land is ever involved in war, that these colors shall wave with credit and glory, wherever danger is thickest, and the fight is warmest.

Gentlemen, we thank you, and as you have alluded to our revolutionary sires, we trust the Ulster Guard will never be found unworthy of the noble inheritance of honor and virtue they have left us."

In 1860, the Regiment again encamped at Athens for instruction. It numbered in rank and file nearly 400, and was considered a full regiment; and at the review of the Governor and Staff, it was complimented as one of the best Regiments in the State. That this compliment was sincere subsequent events proved.

It is not a part of this record to trace the causes of the war. It is sufficient that the events of the winter of 1860 and 1861 presaged a collision of the sections. The life of the newly elected President was threatened on his route to Washington, and he was scarcely permitted to be inaugurated without witnessing the clash of arms. The siege and surrender of Fort Sumter, which shortly followed, stirred in a moment the elements of war, and a call for seventy-five thousand troops to be furnished by the loyal States, thirty thousand of which were apportioned to New York was at once issued by the President. The Militia Regiments of this State, fit to take the field, were ordered in response to this call to march at once to Washington to protect the Capital. Of the Regiments thus ordered, seven were from New York city and Brooklyn; one from Albany and one from Ulster County—the Ulster Guard. Excepting the Albany Regiment, equipped under the immediate eye of the State authorities, Ulster County furnished the only other one, out of New York city and Brooklyn, fit to take the field in the

pressing emergency. History must ever note this fact in praise of the sturdy patriotism of Ulster County men.

CHAPTER II.

The din of preparation to meet the crisis awoke to the most stirring effort the patriotism of the State. The Legislature, in session at Albany, appropriated half a million of dollars to put the militia in possession of war equipments, and three millions more to arm an additional volunteer force. An Union Defence Committee was appointed in New York city, and furnished with nearly five millions of dollars, a large portion contributed by patriotic individuals, to send forward troops. The citizens of Ulster, with perhaps less tumult, rallied, worthy of their old Revolutionary fame, to the work. An immense impromptu mass meeting was held in the Court House, and amid the ringing of Church bells, the firing of cannon, and the general suspension of business pursuits, the citizens pledged their efforts to the preservation of the Government. At a meeting of the officers of the Ulster Guard, their services were tendered to the Governor, and propositions to recruit and equip the Regiment to a war footing, were at once put into motion. The amount of money needed for this work was large; but all working together with spirit and enthusiasm, developed rapidly the "sinews of war."

The banks, with a true patriotic spirit, came up to their duty in the crisis, and issued promptly to Col. Pratt the following letter:

Kingston, N. Y., 20th April, 1861.

Col. George W. Pratt:

Dear Sir—At a meeting of Officers of the Banks in this town, held this day, on the representation that the sum of Eight Thousand Dollars is needed to prepare your Regiment for the field, it was unanimously

Resolved, That the Banks here represented, viz: Ulster County Bank, Kingston Bank, Bank of Rondout, and State of New York Bank, will each honor the Drafts of the Paymaster of the 20th Regiment for the sum of Two Thousand Dollars.

Yours, &c.,

A. BRUYN ILASBROUCK, Chairman.

H. H. Reynolds, Secretary.

The banks of Saugerties also contributed \$2,000. Funds to feed the troops were rapidly gathered by subscription. Recruits from the different towns, aroused by the fervid appeals of prominent citizens, poured rapidly into Kingston and enrolled themselves under the Command of Colonel Pratt. In a week the Regiment numbered eight hundred men, mostly uniformed and equipped, and had received orders from the Governor to report to President Lincoln at Washington.

Who will say that this was not an act of heroism, worthy our revolutionary history? The men thus formed into military ranks, were under orders for a march of three hundred miles. Blood had already been shed along the route. Communication with Washington had been cut off, and it was even conjectured that the Capital had been taken possession of by the rebel invaders. The men who thus volunteered were obliged to leave their business and families, with sacrifices and under circumstances in many cases very unpleasant and distressing.

Sunday, the 29th of April, was the day on which the Regiment took its departure. The line of march from the Regimental Armory at Kingston, was formed at 6 o'clock, a. m. Even at that early hour, the streets were filled by an immense crowd, depressed by the gloomy sentiments of so uncertain a separation from friends, husbands, sons and lovers; yet enlivened by the spirit of patriotism and devotion to duty. The Regimental Colors consecrated to the defence of Ulster County soil, were about to be borne off to a distant encounter—to mingle in the doubtful issue of a fratricidal contest. It was a scene that might well produce contending emotions, and will long be remembered by those whose feelings were involved in the thick network of sentiments that touched to tears so large a multitude.

The Ulster County Bible Society took occasion to convene the Regiment, before its departure, at the Academy Green, to present to each soldier a copy of the Testament, and to commend its divine truth, as an ever present monitor in the hazzards of the soldier's life. The presentation address was delivered by the Rev. Joseph A. Collier, of the Second Reformed Dutch Church of Kingston, and its pleading devotion to Bible truth, as it seemed to shine from his fervid language and expressive countenance,

brought many an unwilling tear, and left many an ineffacable touch of conviction. The pastors of all the churches of Kingston were also present and participated in the exercises, and united their prayers for the welfare of the country, and the soldiers about to embark in its service. The patriotic devotion of Ulster County was also represented, and was expressed in an eloquent and fervid speech by Hon. A. Bruyn Hasbrouck. He impressed in glowing language upon her soldiers the fearful ordeal of the Nation, and the course of conduct imposed upon them by the early history of the County.

The members of the Regiment, with these solemn impressions, and with uplifted hands, swore the Constitutional oath, and took their line of march to Rondout and thence on board Major Cornell's steamer, the "Manhattan," and a barge. They were still accompanied by the crowd, who delayed their farewell until the transport passed out of the creek.

Bidding good-bye, the dense throng filled the house-tops, crowded the wharf and vessels at the dock, and every available space, whilst cheer after cheer and that trembling enthusiasm of the multitude, filled the air, until Ulster County settled out of sight of her devoted soldiers, and they found themselves alone with the more serious impressions of their errand and its duties.

CHAPTER III.

In our day, events are communicated by telegraph, and a crisis matures more rapidly than in former times. The whole country was aroused at the same instant. The first news of the rebellion, like an electric shock, thrilled in a moment the entire body of the people. They all realized the existence of a war, and armed for the event. But all did not at once realize its magnitude. This subject became the theme of discussion, and occupied the mind of the masses, as well as those in authority. None at once measured the full dimensions of the disaster, though the people and those out of office were most impressed, and whilst they magnified their estimate by their fears, came nearest the correct measurement. Our State authorities were ill prepared for the emergency, and were soon overrun by the preparations to meet it; and thus they over-estimated what they did, and undurated what they ought to do.

Upon the arrival of the Regiment in New York city, it was quartered in the Armories, just vacated by City Regiments already sent forward, and fed as well as it was possible by contractors, whose preparations were yet on a scale of economy and had not acquired the proportions necessary for the demand upon them.

One Regiment of New York troops had, by this time, reached Washington, and the State breathed easier. "The Country is safe," used to be the old watchword of careless philosophers, and "Washington is safe" at once became a smart aphorism for newspaper writers and such sages as are made over every morning by the latest dispatches.

The Governor of New York and his military staff were also fashioned much in their opinions of the crisis by their morning paper, which had thus become an excellent sedative for the impulsive energy into which they were first inspired by the startling events with which the war opened. They, too, were thus persuaded that the country was safe, and that the danger really was that New York had sent forward too many troops.

For nearly one week this delusion seized the people, and the Ulster Guard were the guests of the resting State authorities in the city, waiting an exchange of arms, and a few equipments that could have been delivered in one hour with orders to march. Instead of these, Colonel Pratt was regaled with paragraphs in the papers, showing a discussion in the Councils of the Governor, as to whether the Regiment should not be sent home, and the work and devotion embarked in it, dissolved back into the distant towns of Ulster. An order to that effect came on the Sunday after the arrival of the Regiment, and the Ulster County Soldiers, who had left home with gloomy feelings, with much more gloomy feelings were preparing to return. They began to accept the idea, that Ulster, calm, Dutch, sober Ulster, had for once been too fast.

But while the order relieving him was drying in the hands of Col. Pratt, the telegraph was awakening new alarms in the State authorities. The loyal men of the city had begun, too, to discredit the cry "Washington is safe." The magnitude of the crisis was developing on the electric currents, and the Ulster County men, admired by all for their hardy appearance, their quiet, yet

patriotic manners, and their true notions of the soldier's calling, became quickly the praised of the newspapers, the reliance of the Union Defence Committee, and the toast of the city. There was a new crisis, and a new order to march, and a new demonstration of a New York multitude to see the Ulster Guard march out of the Park Barracks on Tuesday morning, May 7th, 1861, for the defence of Washington. The strength of the Regiment, by the morning report of that day, was 815, consisting of—

Field Officers—Col. George W. Pratt, Lt. Col. Hiram Schoonmaker, Major Theodore B. Gates.

Commissioned Staff—Jacob B. Hardenbergh, Adjutant; John S. Griffiths, Quarter-Master; Peter T. Overbagh, Paymaster; William Lounsbury, Commissary; Major A. Crispell, Captain Leonard Ingersoll and Lieutenant R. Loughran, Surgeons; Daniel T. Van Buren, Captain of Engineers; William Darrah, Chaplain.

Non-Commissioned Staff—P. Freeman Hasbrouck, Sergeant Major; Charles Schryver, Quarter-Master's Sergeant; Henry Mick, Sergeant Standard Bearer; Augustus Geoller, Drum Major; A. Webster Shaffer, Sergeant of Sappers; Engineer Corps, 9 men.

Line—Company A, 73 men; J. B. Webster, Captain; A. G. Barker, 1st Lieutenant; James Stevens, 2d Lieutenant.

Company B, 113 men; George H. Sharp, Captain; Jacob Sharp, 1st Lieutenant; Cornelius I. Houghtaling, 2d Lieutenant.

Company C, 91 men; J. Rudolph Tappen, Captain; W. A. Van Renssalaer, 1st Lieutenant; Peter S. Voorhees, 2d Lieutenant.

Company D, 74 men; Davis Winne, Captain; John Hussey, 1st Lieutenant; John M. Schoonmaker, Jr., 2d Lieutenant.

Company E, 98 men; William Lent, Captain; Jacob A. Blackman, 1st Lieutenant; Nicholas Sahn, 2d Lieutenant.

Company F, 63 men; Patrick J. Flynn, Captain; Edward O'Reiley, 1st Lieutenant; John Murray, 2d Lieutenant.

Company G, 80 men; James T. Hendricks, Captain; James D. Balen, 1st Lieutenant; S. W. Miller, 2d Lieutenant.

Company H, 87 men; John Derrenbacher, Captain; Jarvis McEntee, 1st Lieutenant; Lawrence Stoker, 2d Lieutenant.

Company I, 109 men; Wade H. Steenbergh, Captain; George Wheeler, 1st Lieutenant; Cornelius C. Bush, 2d Lieutenant; Ambrose N. Baldwin, Jr., 2d Lieutenant.

CHAPTER IV.

A brief sketch of the campaign up to this time is here necessary. Massachusetts prepared in February and March for an approaching war, and when the proclamation was issued to the Northern States by telegraph, Gov. Andrews answered by telegraph inquiring where his quota should be sent and at the same time he ordered forward the Sixth and Eighth Regiments of Militia of that State, then in camp at Boston. The Sixth had reached Baltimore on the 19th of April, and in passing through that city was assaulted by a mob, and several killed or wounded. This act was followed by the destruction of the railroad and telegraph lines through Baltimore, connecting with Washington, on both the Harrisburgh and Havre-de-Grace routes. Under these circumstances, the Eighth of Massachusetts and the Seventh of New York, with Brig.-Gen. Butler in command, were compelled to take the route via Perryville and Annapolis. They landed at Annapolis before the rebel forces in Maryland could combine in strength, and thus secured possession of the Annapolis branch railroad connecting with the Washington branch of the Baltimore and Ohio railroad at Annapolis Junetion.

The Twentieth from Ulster County followed by this route, and landed at Annapolis May 8th, just after daylight. Gen. Butler was in command of the Department of Annapolis, and assigned to the Ulster Guard the duty of holding this route to Washington, with Head-Quarters at the Junetion.

That Maryland was not a loyal State had been tested by the conduct of Baltimoreans on the 19th of April; and an attempt to stab one of the Regiment in the darkness during the first night of the Twentieth on their soil, gave a clue to their mode of meeting their assailants. The Annapolis railroad passes through a sparsely populated district for twenty miles to the Junction. Along much of the route the first forests are still standing. For the purpose of protecting this road, a portion of the companies were divided into pickets of from 10 to 60 and stationed at such convenient distances, that a night patrol would pass the whole road, thus connecting Annapolis and the Junction by a chain of pickets. That this duty was gloomy and unpleasant and attended with danger, is clear. That the inhabitants at best were of a very sensitive loyalty, had already been learned by the Regiment in

whose steps they followed, and that the duty imposed was delicate and important was equally clear.

The Head-Quarters at the Junction occupied a camping ground slightly sloping towards the railroad station, and skirted on the east by a wood, affording a pleasant shade during the heat, but no protection from attack. The level nature of the country, in fact, furnished not the slightest natural defence. The first attention, therefore, of Col. Pratt was directed to breaking up the military organizations of the neighborhood, known to be hostile. Repositories of arms were ransacked, and suspected individuals apprehended or watched. The principal danger was from a cavalry raid that might have swept suddenly from the direction of the Rebel Head-Quarters on the Potomac. Against this the Colonel was specially warned, and by surrounding the camp with a chain of pickets, he soon made a surprise difficult. The next duty—and a delicate one—was to encourage the Union and loyal sentiment by overcoming the natural hostility of the inhabitants to northern troops, who appeared to them in the light of invaders. The quality of his troops rendered this easier. Prejudices against some of the acts of preceding Regiments were soon overcome by a uniform respect for the rights and feelings of the residents. Their property—even their slaves—they soon found more secure than under the usual remedies of their State laws. The Railroad Company, which at first crippled their own road to prevent the passage of troops, soon favored the troops, who protected their property. Before two months the members of the Ulster Guard were as much respected on the strange soil of Maryland, as they were in their own neighborhoods of their native County. An election called to fill the seats in the special session of Congress, in the District occupied by the troops from Ulster, resulted almost unanimously for the Union candidates, and this without interference or the least appearance of control on the part of the troops. Organized efforts to attack and surprise the Camp were from time to time discovered and broken up before they ripened. One project of the kind, undertaken upon a very dark night, was foiled by the vigilance of one of the outside sentinels, and the alarm being given, the movement dispersed through the darkness, leaving only tracks and the noise of retreat as evidence of its force. An actual engagement did not take place; for it was not

provoked by neglecting vigilance. No individual case of violence occurred; for the conduct of the men caused respect instead of broils. It was a conquest more glorious than an abject subjugation, that, when it was understood towards the close of June to be the intention of Gen. Banks to order the Regiment to Baltimore, the inhabitants petitioned the Commandant of the Department to continue the Twentieth in the occupation of the position they then held.

On the 28th of May, whilst the Twentieth was at the Junction, Lieut. Col. Hiram Schoomaker submitted his resignation to the officers of the Regiment. It was known to be caused by reasons not attributable to a dislike of his associates or the service, and produced a deep regret, which had expression at a meeting at which the fact was first learned by the officers. An election to fill the vacancy was held, and Major Theodore B. Gates, entitled by rank to the succession, was cheerfully elected to the position. The choice was proved to have been a wise one. Jacob B. Hardenbergh, who had held the post of Adjutant since the organization of the Regiment, was chosen Major, and though at first inclined to refuse the additional responsibility of that place, his eminent fitness made his fellow officers insist upon his acceptance. Maurice W. McEntee was appointed from Co. H in place of Mr. Hardenbergh, promoted.

CHAPTER V.

The Regiment in Camp at Athens, in 1860, as has been said, was commended at its inspection by the Officers of the State for its discipline and proficieney in drill and batallion movements. Recruiting it up to a war standard, introduced, of course, a very large number of undisciplined soldiers. Some whole companies were fresh from ordinary business, and had never had the first lesson in the school of the soldier. In the hurry of forwarding troops the Regiment marched without an opportunity to practice in batallion. No chance for exercise was offered in New York city, and during the early part of its stay on the Annapolis road, the Regiment was scattered, and only a portion of the companies appeared in line. But drills in squads and companies was quickly acquired by the presence and example of the original members of the Regiment. When the companies, therefore, gradually gathered at Head-Quarters as they were relieved from picket duty

on account of the growing loyalty along the road, they rapidly acquired, by drill, great steadiness in executing the most difficult of the movements of the battalion, and soon became one of the best appearing Regiments in the field. The exposure of picket service had worn out most of the clothing taken with the Regiment, and the regular army uniform furnished instead was fresh and gave a general appearance much above others which were passing on the way to the camps about Washington. This created a feeling among the soldiers of the Twentieth that they ought to be relieved and sent forward where it was thought active work would soon commence. Two months had made the Camp at the Junction monotonous. The service had grown lighter, because the Camp was less menaced by attack, and soldiers always grow uneasy when their service is relieved of danger and the excitement of the war hazzards.

An order at last arrived for the Regiment to be in readiness to march, and all prepared with alacrity, thinking Washington the destination; but it afterwards appeared by an order from Genl. Banks, received by Col. Pratt June 26th, that the Twentieth was one of the Regiments assigned to the protection of the Union Cause in the city of Baltimore.

The order was not satisfactory to the Regiment generally, though the fitness of Col. Pratt and his command for the service assigned, shows the wisdom of the Commanding General. He was, no doubt, influenced in the selection by what he had already witnessed of the Ulster County troops, in the performance of the duties already discharged, and which were similar to those which would be required in their new position.

Baltimore has a peculiarly unfortunate history connected with the war. Its commercial interests were with the South, tending to Virginia and along the Southern coast, and impelled the business men of the city to sympathize with the action and welfare of the seceded States. On the other hand, its beautiful dwellings, parks, and the monuments and other public ornaments, so much the pride of Baltimoreans, were within easy range of the guns of Fort McHenry, already turned city-ward by the riot of the 19th of April, and the large number loyal from such motives augmented the influence of the true Union men.

An animosity grew between these two parties to a much more

bitter hostility than partisan feeling alone would cause; for the dread of approaching collision with arms made all suspicious and anxious. Baltimore was in fact a slumbering volcano, and the discovery of arms in large quantities secreted and under control of the municipal officers and the police, known to lean strongly in their sympathies toward the rebels, impelled Gen. Banks to occupy the city with a sufficient force and protect the Union Cause by Martial Law.

It was with this view that the Twentieth was moved from the Junction, and together with six other Regiments encamped adjacent to the city. The Ulster Guard pitched its tents at Patterson Park at the eastern terminus of Baltimore street, the principal one for business in the city, whilst the Thirteenth from Brooklyn occupied the other extremity of the same street, a distance of about five miles from each other. Three Regiments of Pennsylvania militia, one of Maryland volunteers, and a battery of light artillery from Boston, were also encamped on the city outskirts, whilst a battalion of Massachusetts militia and two Companies of regulars were stationed at the Fort.

Such was the condition of the occupation on Monday morning, July 1st, when the Twentieth was ordered to occupy the principal Police Station and the Custom House, posts distant about one mile from each other, and in the heart of the city. For this purpose the Regiment was divided near'y equal, and the right wing under Lieut.-Col. Gates, located at the Police Station, and the left wing and Head-Quarters at the Custom House, supported by a detachment of the Boston battery with two of their pieces unlimbered on the sidewalk near the principal entrance.

Two important plans of the rebels were thus frustrated. The old police claimed still the right to hold their places, and draw their pay, and were organizing to take possession of the Police Head-Quarters and turn out the new force just established by the Provost Marshal. In the Custom House was deposited the Government revenue of the Port, and a large sum to be used by the depot officers of the Army. The rebel officials had already shown great quickness in discovering and ransacking the Government treasures, and active combinations were in progress to give the rebellion a new vigor by its breaking out in force in so excellent a field as among a crowded population like Baltimore. A whole

regiment had been organized and equipped for the Rebel Army from the young men of the city, and it would have given an immense impetus to this work, if rebellion could have laid its hand upon the Government treasures, and the heavy founding machinery with which Baltimore is so well supplied.

It became Col. Pratt's work at once to operate with the new police in ferreting out and breaking up these combinations. In three days it had been so effectually accomplished, that the 4th of July dawned upon Baltimore as loyal a city as any of the Union. The cannon of the Fort and of the adjacent Camps welcomed the sun with an old-fashioned salute; the National Colors hung out in most extravagant generosity; the Union men with bright smiles again greeted each other with heartfelt thanks, that Baltimore was fairly free from the heel of rebel despotism; and finally, though the streets had the quiet of a camp, it was a pleasant thought for all the loyal people that their Old Government was still recognized.

CHAPTER VI.

In two weeks the city of Baltimore had wonderfully improved in loyalty. Even corner gatherings no longer used insulting language to the Federal troops, and to every appearance the rebel combinations had been broken up. The Twentieth was relieved, and returned to the tents and shade of its encampment. Patterson Park is beautifully located on high ground overlooking the whole city, the harbor and the mouth of the Patapsco beyond the Fort, and down the bay into the Chesapeake. To the north and east the immense Patterson estate, upon which was reared the famous Betsy Patterson, the discarded wife of the Bonaparte Prince, gives a pleasant outline and a picturesque landscape. The spot bears interesting reminiscences of the war of 1812, still preserving the line of intrenchments and the magazine used at that time to protect the city from the British invaders under Genl. Ross. The old Park is thickly shaded and sodded, and affords a delightful lounge in the afternoon heat of a southern July. The soldiers here read and discussed the newspaper plans and prophecies of the advance of the main body of the Federal army towards Manassas, and divided in opinion as to whether glory there or the present delight of shade and rest were to be preferred. The news of the actual advance came, and very many

longed to be of the number, and judged the management bad that condemned so many strong arms to inactive ease.

On Sunday, July 21st, during a severe rain and pitchy darkness, at 1 o'clock at night, the Camp was aroused by an order to be in readiness for an immediate march. The tidings of the disastrous defeat of the Federal forces, had reached the Department Head-Quarters, and it was the intention of Genl. Banks to evacuate Baltimore and join the army at Washington with his whole force, to protect the Capital, which was again in imminent danger. This intention was subsequently changed, as later tidings assured him that the Rebel Commanding General had not been able to profit by his victory.

The Muster Rolls of the Twentieth dated from April 23, ending a three months' service on the 23d of July. It was intended to discharge the Regiment at that time; but the late disaster confused the whole Federal plan;—called Genl. Banks to the Command of the Army of the Shenandoah, and whilst it made Washington insecure, gave a new impetus to rebellion at Baltimore. It was not deemed safe to decrease the force at that city. On the other hand, three Regiments were ordered from Fortress Monroe, to increase the force. The Twentieth was obliged, therefore, to wait its turn to be relieved. This delay was thought by some to be a hardship. The picture of family and home was vividly painted upon the anticipations of many of the soldiers. The 23d of July had come to be viewed in the light of an appointed pleasure, not easily put aside. But the predominant feeling of patriotism controlled the mass, and kept down any formidable exhibition of discontent. Revolts from the cause described occurred in several Regiments about Baltimore, and the failure of Genl. Patterson to play his part in the advance on Manassas was charged to the same cause, and greatly disgraced a portion of the army. It is a pride Ulster County people may well feel in their soldiers that they did not incur a similar disgrace.

With patriotic devotion to duty not weakened when they had obeyed its letter, they persevered in obeying its spirit also, and abided in full efficiency the convenience of the Government to relieve them from the service.

It was made a part of the closing services of the Twentieth to complete the work of securing Baltimore from the influence of

the men who had been implicated in the discovered rebel combinations. For that purpose, a detachment consisting of Companies A, G and R, started on Monday, July 29th, on board the steamer Joseph Whitney, in charge of the arrested police commissioners and other prisoners, to lodge them in Fort Lafayette, in New York harbor. This duty was satisfactorily accomplished.

The remainder of the Regiment was relieved at Baltimore on the 31st day of July, and on the morning of August 1st arrived in New York city, and being joined by the three companies, which had arrived the previous day, embarked on board the Manhattan on her regular up trip, and the Ulster County troops were that evening mustered out and honorably discharged from their term of service. The Ulster Guard thus marching among the first in response to the call of the President, was the last but one in the homeward line.

It is not lessening the glory of the Regiments whose services in the war were involved in the memorable and bloody battle of the 21st of July, in front of Washington, to claim as much for the Ulster County troops. They performed and performed well the services the Government assigned to them. That their ranks were not serried in actual encounter, was of the accidents which might have put them in the front of the thickest part of the battle.

It is, however, a part of the praise due the management of the Ulster County troops, that but three deaths occurred during their service. Of these, one was an accidental shot, and the other two from disease. That fatal casualties were so much fewer than the most sanguine could have predicted, must be attributed to the vigilant police, the prudence and sobriety of the officers and men.

CHAPTER VII.

The achievements of Ulster County in the war have not been left to the soldiers alone. The devotion of the volunteer has at all times been cheerfully acknowledged and appreciated by the people at home. Every effort that could be made to furnish the troops with comfortable equipments was put forth before they started—under difficulties, to be sure, which were caused by the hurry of their departure; but they were followed to the war by a constant solicitude and their wants sought out and supplied.

The Regiment was under special obligations to Mr. Henry H. Reynolds, who took much time from his official duties to seek out ways in which he could add comforts to the Ulster County troops. His visits to the Camps of the Regiment were followed by contributions of shoes, and underclothing, and those innumerable articles that his keen charity discovered as proper comforts to relieve the hardships of the Soldier's life. The ready ingenuity and industry of the Ulster County women were guided much by his advice in the memorable services that were rendered by them at home, as they were mindful of their soldiers abroad. The camp at the Junction was named Camp Reynolds, in acknowledgment of such acts of judicious and thoughtful benevolence. This much was done at the time to reward a zeal for the cause as far as possible removed from any selfish or sordid motives.

It may be mentioned here—for it is due to the truth of history—that the women everywhere have been the brightest examples of patriotism. Their smiles attended the troops all along their route to the war. Their confidence and courage have cheered the cause in its most desponding moments. In Baltimore, where the ladies have activity, spirit, intelligence and heroism, they even outstripped the Union men in exhibitions of loyalty. The beautiful National Colors, which the Regiment brought home as one of its trophies, is the gift of the industry and devoted patriotism of the Baltimore ladies, who took this means of acknowledging the services of the Ulster County troops in preserving their city faithful to the Constitution and the Laws of the Country.

It is pleasant, amid the disastrous consequences of war, to recur to such acts. We learn that there are bright spots even amid devastation and blood. They revive the ever dear memories of our first Revolutionary times. They prove that acts of heroism have not perished from the earth.

If this war accomplishes nothing more of advantage to the race, it has raised our opinion of our own times by bringing out acts of individual sacrifice and daring that do credit to the virtue and patriotism of the Fathers of the Republic. May be our trials our meant to purify our love of liberty, and will make our free institutions to be better prized, and the Union more prosperous and united.

ADDRESS OF WILLIAM LOUNSBERRY, ESQ.,

Before the

ULSTER COUNTY AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY,

Sept. 25th, 1862.

(From the Kingston Journal.)

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen:

The annual gathering of the producing classes of Ulster County at this time, is an occasion of more than its usual importance. A domestic war, whilst it has, as yet, spared our houses and farms from the ruthless waste of passing armies, has nevertheless drained off a considerable portion of the laboring population, and imposed burdensome taxes. Men, who from other occupation, or want of occupation, have not before this devoted themselves to the soil, are likely to be stimulated to that pursuit by the demands of the times; and our old agriculturalists, with new taxes imposed, must meet with spirit and intelligence the new levy upon their land.

It may be stated here at the outset, that agriculture implies something more than planting and reaping. It implies cultivation of the soil, and reaches the desired end when it produces the largest profit compared with the expenses and labor employed. If, then, the farms of our county can, by a more industrious or intelligent cultivation, be made to yield an additional profit, equal to the additional burdens of taxation, we are not likely to be greatly impoverished by the disasters of the country. Our farmers, by dealing with this subject in a practical way, can thus compensate themselves for the additional expenses of the Government, in a much more satisfactory manner than by simply grumbling at a fortune, which by whomsoever brought upon us, is nevertheless a necessity that must be borne by all.

I have thus alluded to the condition of our country in this connection, for the nation has been principally indebted to our agricultural resources for its financial vigor in thus far withstanding the efforts of foreign countries, and England especially, to break down our credit and thus compel our government, from bankruptcy, to yield to the designs and wishes of the leaders in the Southern rebellion. When the great export staple, cotton, was locked up by the rebel leaders, or burnt in the path of our advancing army, and our stocks held abroad, were pushed into our market by the discredit given them by English newspapers, we were indebted to the granaries of the West, and the immense agricultural resources of the country for the means to restore the balance of trade, and to preserve the credit of our government at home. Even now the countries of Europe are crying for food more than clothing, and they may yet learn that they have a more arbitrary monarch in corn than in cotton.

The farmers of Ulster have a duty to perform in swelling the amount of our surplus food, and in helping to supply the every year increasing deficiency in the foreign market. The resources of a country depend upon the energy, spirit and industry of a people, and our rapid growth whilst the government was little felt, can be kept steadily forward with a little additional industry. The waste and extravagance of prosperous times, will, if now saved, be sufficient to pay the extra expenses of our domestic war.

It is satisfactory to be able by figures to prove to you, how rapidly the energies of the country have grappled in the manner already indicated, the trying circumstances in which the nation is thrown, and we quote from the financial articles of a New York paper of the last and present month in this connection:

"A comparative statement of exports, exclusive of specie, from the port of New York to foreign ports, for the week ending August 26 and since January 1.

	1860	1861	1862
Total for the week.....	\$ 2,021,402	\$ 2,275,158	\$ 2,934,797
Previously reported	56,572,056	81,716,278	86,382,735
Since January 1.....	\$58,593,458	\$83,991,431	\$89,317,582

Upon which the editor remarks: "This export falling but little short of three million dollars, will swell the aggregate outward movement of domestic produce for the month of August to the unprecedented figures of fourteen millions of dollars—that is to say fully double the average export of August in the old prosperous times, when the chief article we sent to Europe was cotton. If the Southern leaders could have realized that New York would ship \$14,000,000 worth of produce in a month without cotton, the rebellion might never have broken out.

"A comparative statement of the exports (exclusive of specie) from New York to foreign ports for the week ending September 23, and since January 1:

	1860	1861	1862
For the week	\$ 2,179,802	\$ 2,295,553	\$ 4,134,421
Previously reported	64,781,733	90,719,355	92,705,512
Since January 1	\$66,961,535	\$93,014,908	\$102,839,933

Upon which the editor remarks: "This enormous export exceeds the calculations of every one. Notwithstanding the unexpected amount of imports, our exports increase in even greater proportion. At this rate the exports of produce from New York, exclusive of cotton, will amount this year to the unparalleled figure of \$130,000,000."

These figures need no comment. They speak in plain and unmistakable language of the resources of the country, and the intelligence with which they have been developed.

Intelligence is of itself a producer. It does not work in any fixed rut, like an antiquated notion, nor in the vacillating and fickle manner of the new fashion, but it applies itself to the demands of the times and circumstances—to the accidents of the world and life,—and thus when war has dried up one fountain of wealth and resource, it strikes with a magic wand another rock, and plenteous streams flow forth.

Successful farming depends upon the intelligence of the people. By that I mean the capacity by which they adopt means to an end. I do not believe that there is a fixed rule by which land can be prepared for a particular seed, or that agricultural chem-

istry ever so well studied, will teach one what stimulant a certain soil needs to bring forward to best advantage a given crop. Intelligent farming applies chemistry to experience and sets both to work upon the circumstances presented. It does not adopt unquestioned, any given formula of the books, but tests for itself what is best for the end desired.

THE SOIL

of Ulster County represents nearly all the varieties of this climate, from the heavy rich alluvial, to the mountain surface. Within the last ten years a considerable quantity of the latter variety has been reduced to cultivation, and my attention attracted to this fact by lately looking at the south slope of the Shawangunk, and by traversing the mountain roads of the northern towns, I have been surprised at the amount of upland now cultivated in this county, and the amount of produce annually gathered from that kind of soil. Especially in northern Shandaken, opened a few years ago by the Ulster & Delaware Plank Road, to the market, has progress in intelligent farming been rapid in a most gratifying degree. There are in that town, which a few years ago, was almost as wild as the red man left it, now many very valuable farms, attesting the industry and intelligence and home comforts of its present inhabitants. The bark lands have been mostly stripped of the wealth nature gave bountifully, and now it is discovered that much of them is highly productive, both of grass and cereal crops. The value of this kind of land has arisen in actual value from 50 cents to \$2.50 per acre, from access to market and the additional value given it by labor. The average value of cultivated land in that town is about \$10 per acre, whilst some farms are valued at \$50 per acre.

In speaking of the value of farm land, I can mention one fact apparent to all. That the manner in which a farm is kept does much towards fixing its market value. The mark on Cain's brow, which scarred his expression with a brother's blood, was no more apparent than the appearance of the fences and buildings and the surface of the farm denote the character of the owner, and give a value to the farm itself independent of location.

Our most valuable land for agricultural purposes is located

along the margin of the Esopus and Wallkill. With the exception of the Mohawk Valley, there is no land in the State of New York that will bear cropping with heavy cereals, with a smaller supply of artificial stimulant. The Wallkill has much the largest extent of valley, and the surplus food of Ulster is mostly raised in that section of the county. The farmers of New Paltz have been for years hoarding considerable fortunes, and the Huguenot Bank, with a capital stock of \$100,000, represents a portion of the surplus which has been turned out from the alluvial deposits of this fertile valley, which stretches out from the foot of the Shawangunk range toward the South in a surface of about 45 square miles. The surplus crop of this section, which is carried to New York by the barges from New Paltz, has been estimated at \$150,000 for a good season. So much of a granary Ulster is for the crowded cities of our country and the old world.

A fancy value is rapidly attaching to our river front, for the home of the later life of the successful business man. Our prosperous days turned out from New York yearly a crop of men who have there accumulated fortunes. These seek the country somewhere along the usual thoroughfare or upon the banks of the Hudson, from the world of business upon the soil and devote themselves to beautifying it instead of turning it to the more homely and useful work. I shall speak of such again, only remarking here how much soil Ulster has yet to spare for such, affording a river front of about 40 miles, superior in its natural scenery to that of Dutchess, which is already nearly all taken up for this purpose.

CROPS

of every variety, adopted to our climate, can be raised upon so varied a soil as Ulster affords, and it is to this subject the farmer's intelligent observation should be directed. Hay, oats, corn, wheat, rye and potatoes are the principal crops raised to such an extent as to produce a supply above our home consumption. Of the first three, Ulster is a large consumer on account of the Canal and the quarrying, and attention should be paid to their successful cultivation. Hay is especially profitable, because little labor is required in its cultivation. The Hon. William Kelly, whose farm of about 700 acres in Dutchess County, is mostly devoted to hay, realizes about 900 tons or nearly \$10,000 on the

average for his 350 acres, from which he reaps his annual hay crop. His plan is not to break up his meadows, as is the general custom, after five or six crops. Instead of having his meadows renewed he adds topdressing to his whole park and sows in new seed where it shows an appearance of running out. His practice of rolling his meadows should be followed by every farmer where it is possible; for by that means the soil is firmly attached to the roots and the danger of the soil running off by heavy rains, or the small plants being thrown out by the frost is avoided. He also recommends a mixture of red top and timothy as producing a more firm and vigorous sod. I examined the quality of his crop at the time he was cutting it in August, this year. His large park was uniform in quality and the grass was thick, tall and coarse, showing thrifty growth and giving a heavy yield, superior to many new meadows that I examined about the same time in this county, which had been brought forward with skillful husbandry. Hay growing is Mr. Kelly's special crop, and he has devoted much study and intelligence to its successful culture, as well as to its marketing, in good condition. At the time I was at his farm he was supplying an order for a cargo for the use for the army. His wagons were unloaded at his dock, and in his store house the hay was, during an afternoon and part of the following day, pressed, and rolled on board the vessel that was to convey it to its destination on the James River.

It is, of course, impossible for all to possess themselves of some of the natural advantages of Mr. Kelly's farm for hay cultivation. I have, however, alluded to some facts in this connection, which will be found, I think, useful.

Oats is a crop for which our upland farms are specially adapted, and it can be grown and prepared for market, with a handsome profit, at the prices it has sold at uniformly in this County, and I am satisfied that our County oats, sold by our good farmers, are superior in weight and quality to that imported from other parts of the country.

My impression, from recent investigation, is that our farmers are growing more rye than they ought. Wheat, it has been found, can be cultivated here on all the land that will produce rye. Neither grow well on poor soil. But wheat will always command a large price and yield a larger profit. In England, of

late years, rye is only produced for a few eccentric appetites. The staple head is wheat, and for feed other grains are superior, and can be raised in larger quantities than rye.

Potatoes should never be grown for marketing in bulk, except upon new soil or on sandy and porous soil. Too many are lost from rot where the soil is of a stiff loam, and particularly if low and wet.

THE STOCK

of a farm is an important branch of husbandry. The English especially excel in this particular as farmers, and our best breeds are imported from that country. With them the sheep is an especial favorite, and I think our farmers do not sufficiently prize this animal as a means of profit. It is easily fed, hardy for the winter, gives an excellent food, and at the same time gives the most active and rich manure for fertilizing the land. We have in this country reaped much at little cost, from the improvement made in England in this kind of stock by the process of selection. It is by no means difficult to raise in this country a much larger quantity of sheep, and the increased demand for wool and the price of mutton in the market should induce our farmers to give more attention to this kind of stock.

Attention to the breed is here highly important. In "Lavigne's Rural Economy of England," speaking of this subject, there is mentioned this curious fact, that in 1789, a society having been formed for the propagation of the celebrated Bakewell's herd of sheep, he let his rams to it for one season, at the enormous price of 6,000 guineas, about \$30,000. This looks like an enormous sum for one society to invest in an improved herd, but those who have investigated the question and the results produced in England, by the "Dishley" and "South Down" breeds, will discover with what interest this investment was returned.

In cattle we have also imported our best breeds from England, though we have at the present time, in our own State, several farmers who have brought forward breeds of cattle under their own eye, that rival in beauty anything that has been lately imported. Of our cattle breeders, Mr. Thorne, of Dutchess, for variety of stock and size of herd, is, perhaps, first in the State; whilst, for thorough bred stock and uniformity of herd, he is surpassed by Mr. Kelly, whose herd is the short horn Durham, a

race remarkable for predisposition to fatten and at the same time for its lactiferous qualities. His herd is of singular uniformity and beauty, and greatly impresses the observer with the advantages of the breed for market, as well as for milk. Mr. Peter H. Brink, of Sangerties, in this county, has lately taken a commendable interest in the improvement of his herd. Upon the ground today I have noticed a Devon Bull of singular beauty, as a specimen of that very excellent breed. It is more hardy than the Durham and better adapted to our northern towns. It is superior to the thorough-bred short horn in its certainty of propagation. The enterprise of Mr. Brink will soon be discernable in all the herds of his neighborhood.

All stock to be remunerative must be well kept and then to realize proper returns, too much attention cannot be paid to the selection of the breed.

ROADS

should also have the farmer's attention, for the farm and its produce is greatly indebted for its value, to the facilities for market. Farmers are too apt to overlook this fact, and ignore their duties in the establishment of good roads. Our northern towns have been slow in this particular, and there is a large tract of very excellent land in the town of Denning that would be at once raised in value much more than sufficient to repay the outlay of a road from the Sullivan county line to the Plank Road at Shokan. It is naturally a section of rich farm land, and only needs access to market to make its value known and appreciated. These are times of expanded circulation, and the currency of the country is being swelled by immense issues of government security. These seek investment and all stocks that promise permanence are held at fictitious value. It is a good time to put into market such kind of stock as would be offered by incorporations to build roads in our northern towns and from Kingston to Ellenville. These projects, which have been already before our people, deserve the earnest attention of the farmers, as well as of the business men who have been heretofore the leaders in such enterprises.

COUNTRY LIFE

and the love of owning land is a peculiarity of the Saxon character. The Latin race, from which arises the Spanish and Italian

people, has a predilection for the town and city life. It is so too with that peculiar people the Jews. They are by instinct attached to trade, and resort ultimately to the densely populated cities.

Our own land is much indebted to this bent of our extraction for the wealth and beauty of the country and our natural love of farm life. It is this fact I have already alluded to, that brings out from our commercial cities every year its crop of retired business men, to hold their more extensive possessions in the country. It is this which gives to every man of close business habits a desire to retire after a time upon his own land. The feverish air of the city; the jostle of the crowded streets; the disappointed ambition and tired hopes, are transferred to the beautiful landscape, the comfortable dwelling and the pure air of the open fields.

I will speak again in this connection, of the farm of Mr. Kelly, on the river opposite us. It is about 22 years since he retired from a profitable business in New York, and commenced devoting his accumulated wealth to making the home of his later life conform to his rural tastes, and the independent habits of a farmer. He selected the farm he now owns and devoted his surplus annual income to beautifying these 700 acres of land. We have no titles in this country—it would make no man more a gentleman if we had. We have no aristocracy—and wealth would be no more enjoyable if we had. The titled name, Mr. Kelly, does not possess; but the spirit of a gentleman and the taste to cast himself amid nature trained to beauty, has offered him all that a noble man can desire. Here he studies farming for the pleasure successful farming gives as a triumph to his intelligence. With little regard to first costs, he has selected his blooded stock, and himself watches its development. His barns and yards are, as well as his house, constructed for architectural effect. His Green House has plants and fruits of the tropics, ripening under his eye. His workmen are grouped upon his farm, and their families contented and happy, form a part of the picture the whole lawn and park and meadows contain, and which he can look upon as a part of his work.

This may appear as simply the language of flattery towards a living man; but it is intended as an illustration of the com-

forts that can be grouped in the bosom of the country, upon which a man can retire as his own. It is not a picture overdrawn, for I have lost many of the sentiments the scene inspired when I visited his farm in August last. It is not overdrawn, for many of the appliances of comfort which have been suggested to his intelligence are not susceptible of description. The electric telegraph which communicated between his house and stables; the curious plant and tree which has become associated to its owner by its own peculiar history, and has a value which he alone appreciates, are comforts others cannot participate with him; but the main value of his wealth and his taste is a part of the common property of his neighborhood. He has brought a beautiful home to all as an example. His property which is carried with his person out of the city, helps the public prosperity of his county, and bears its share of the local taxes. He has beautified the banks of the river, and helped make up a panorama to which millions of passengers have had a free ticket of admission. I have selected his place as an illustration because it is one of the earliest and it is now the most complete of the hundreds that line and decorate the banks of the Hudson. Its owner is a contented man and devoted with his whole heart to a farmer's pursuits, and on this account I have selected the illustration.

The beautifying of the farmer's home is one of the lessons I would commend to the owner of the soil. The domestic virtues grow more beautiful when they are trained amid pleasant surroundings. Home and country become more lovely as they fill our aspirations after earthly happiness. The farm and the farmer's dwelling is his, and his ambition to make it attractive and contribute to his wealth and comfort jostle against no one. It is an ambition which begets no malice from neighbors. It gives an honest independence that does not savor of selfishness. It gives a happiness that is not bought by poisoning another's cup.

The farmer and his family in such an aspect present a picture that has been the admiration of the world for all time. It will bear a touch of lavish praise. It is here where honesty and virtue are reared, where religion takes firmest and most endearing hold upon its votaries. It is here where patriotism is bred, and where as a last resort, we look for correct views of statesmanship. Great generals have come suddenly from the plow, and having

grasped the sword and led to victory, gracefully and modestly laid it by.

The poet, Halleck, has well said of our American farmers:

"View them near

At home, where all their worth and power is placed,
And there their hospitable fires burn clear,
And there the lowest farm house **hearth** is graced
With manly hearts, in piety sincere,
Faithful in love, in honor stern and chaste,
In friendship warm and true, in danger brave,
Beloved in life and sainted in the grave."

I cannot close without reference to the casualties of the present war, which have struck close to the hearts of the farmers of our country. I utter a common feeling when I give public expression to the sympathy which springs to every lip as the corpse of the patriotic dead and the sad rites of burial amid our peaceful homes, pass about our streets. The bereaved family of the dead soldier as well as the cause in which he died, is the public solicitude.

In the death of the gallant Colonel Pratt, of the Ulster Regiment, the farmers of the county have suffered a public calamity, by losing in the prime of life and activity one of their most enterprising associates. But shortly before the war commenced, Col. Pratt had purchased an estate upon the bank of the Hudson, and had commenced the ambition which was likely to occupy his life, to give scope to his native love of country life and the noble hospitality of his nature. This work just blossoming under his hand, has been ruthlessly stopped by a calamity that is only relieved by the glory of his death in so noble a cause.

We can only shed the tears of sympathy upon the grave which covers so much of hope and promise—so much of lofty enterprise and patriotism—and learn the sweetness and glory of a death for our country.

Our **liberties**, baptized in the blood of our first revolution, are yet dear as the apple of the eye, and are worth the price of blood and treasure that are now offered for their preservation. These present calamities will give a useful lesson if they sober our impulses and teach us by the sacrifices of others how much to prize the blessings of peace and a stable Government.

IN MEMORY OF COLONEL PRATT.

(From Ulster Historical Collections, page 251.)

At the Annual Meeting of the Ulster Historical Society held October 16, 1862, Mr. William Lounsbury, having been requested, from his acquaintance with Colonel Pratt's public life, seconded the resolutions. He advocated their adoption as follows:

WILLIAM LOUNSBURY'S REMARKS.

Mr. President:—The Ulster Historical Society at this day of its assembling, commemorates the burning of Kingston, and the sufferings of our early settlers in their first struggle for independence. The resolutions which have been proposed are equally suggestive of patriotic sacrifice and strike us with a closer sympathy. They commemorate the loss of one of our founders, who has lately fallen in another contest to preserve the liberties and Government handed down to us by the heroism of our ancestors. This Society would be unequal to its trust, if it passed by in silence a loss so vital to the country and itself.

It is with no ordinary feelings that I have undertaken to respond to the resolutions, just offered, and to utter an appropriate tribute to the worth, enterprise and heroism of our late Secretary, Colonel George W. Pratt.

Government is the work of mortal man. The soeial fabrie is sustained and held together by the enterprise of individuals. And when a man of intelligence and active virtues falls, either by the ordinary decay of age, or, more suddenly, by violence and war, we feel the structure crumbling and see the beauties of the edifice defaced. In the death of Colonel Pratt a column has fallen in the temple of liberty. The decorations which art and learning and

civilization have added to it, have been marred and mutilated, and are not to be quickly repaired.

Some lives do not perform very vital functions in the community. A retiring or selfish nature works in quiet—out of sight of associates, and does not mingle in such efforts as society puts forth for its advancement by the combination of multitudes. I do not say that such are useless, but their death is not so much felt. Their little circle of action revolves upon itself, and its destruction does not jostle and unhinge the public aspirations, or break up the social progress. They are not missed from the world—their death is not counted by so large a value. So many of such do not seem to die. The poet utters this conviction when he says:

“The good die first, and those
Whose hearts are dry as summer dust,
Burn to the socket.”

Colonel Pratt was a man of active and busy enterprise. He had the inspiration of a genius that works and accomplishes. He set to work and did not look back. He had the elements of a great man, which only failed to ripen into eminence by the accident of his early death.

I recollect when the plan to form this Society was first revolved in his mind. I think it originated with him, though the materials for the work were not lacking, either as to the field of operations or the workers that were called out. He saw that Ulster County was a rich field for historical research, and he undertook to lead and stimulate the action of the people in that direction.

I was one who distrusted the project and expressed the fear that a Society, organized simply for plodding among dusty records, or turning up memorials of the past, could not be sustained by a practical and working people, however intelligent. This was suggested to him when we were going in company to attend the meeting to organize this Society. He thought differently, and it is proved that he was right. The half dozen that assembled in the Dutch Church at New Paltz have grown into an organization that has made its mark upon the literary character of the age. How much of this is due to the personal efforts of Colonel Pratt, the members of the Society, here assembled, are the witnesses. He was ably seconded by men of a high order of intelligence and

spirit, but the organization and direction of the enterprise were his, and its present prosperity is a part of the glory that clusters about his memory.

The spirit with which this enterprise was accomplished was only a type of his other efforts. The Ulster County Regiment was organized and equipped into a military corps, and when the war broke out he marched at the head of his men by the side of the Regiments of New York City. It was his glory and the glory of his county, that he took to the field the only Regiment of the State Militia outside of New York and Brooklyn, and the one equipped under the eye of the State authorities at Albany.

In the years 1858-9, Colonel Pratt represented Ulster County in the State Senate. At that time the State Library was being removed from its old room, in the Capitol, to the new building erected in the rear for the purpose. The work of arranging the State collections was entrusted to a committee of the Senate, of which Colonel Pratt was the working head.

I have lately had occasion to admire his work in the arrangement of the invaluable archives there collected by our great State. It shows the master hand of a faithful and intelligent worker, and will furnish, for ages, a curious testimonial of his genius.

After the return of the Ulster County Regiment from its three months campaign, I visited Colonel Pratt at his new residence in Esopus. He pointed out to me his future plans in reference to beautifying the grounds of his new home. I took in the picture which his own fancy was painting for coming years. The happy family circle of his wife and children—the surroundings of fields and shaded walks—the landscape, with the beautiful river in front—his library, so full of the learning of which already he had imbibed so much—and wealth to furnish every rational comfort—were all his.

In view of this picture, I asked, if it was his intention to take command of his regiment for the remainder of the war. I felt then impressed with the extent of the calamity, if his life was sacrificed by such a resolution. I knew, too, that *he* was impressed with the fearful nature of the hazard. His wife had plead, with tears of regret, all she dared urge against her country. His children and his plans of home and home comforts had been busy in dissuading him. And his reply was impressive

for its earnest sadness. "I shall go again," he said. He made the sacrifice—and oh, how great!

Who can replace this fallen column? Who can repair the mutilated ornament or restore to beauty this shattered ruin? Who can again fill the place in that widow's blighted heart? Who can heal an aged father's sorrow? Who can take up the noble aspirations that were blossoming into bright fruition?

Death hath stricken us all. Country, society and friends have suffered a common calamity, and have a common sorrow. The grave, so arbitrary in its dealings, hath taken him in the beginning of usefulness. His youth and virtue—too glorious for a common death, have given him a sacrifice to our constitution and liberties, and insured for his name an illustrious immortality.

CARRIER'S ADDRESS.

[Written for the *Kingston Journal*, January 1, 1863.]

Ponckhockie's crest of crusted snow,
And Hudson's crystal breast below,
Are lit like gems with early ray
Of rising Sun, on natal day
Of the young year, as Sixty-two
Melts its existence in the New:
The "Journal's" Carrier from his bed,
With thoughts of profit in his head,
To Patrons and to steadfast friends
His usual New Year greeting sends.
Bright pleasure may its days unfold,
And happier prospects than the Old.

Good bye, Old Year! thy blooming Spring time day,
Thy Summer sunshine and its hours of play,
Thy sombre Autumn, and thy Winter blast,
Have swept—how quickly!—in the shadowy past.
Good bye, Old Year! grim-visaged, cruel war,
Has dogged thy footsteps, and with lasting scar,
Carved on thy lineaments in living light,
The martyr'd hero in the cause of right.
Thy days are fraught with many memories dear,
With many sorrowing hours—Old Year!
Good bye! May brighter days come 'round
And change to peace this present warlike sound.

* * * * *

Two years ago, last month, the South began
In open strife the flame of War to fan;

Her leading men, by lust of power impelled,
 The masses, victimized by fraud, soon fell
 Into the snare, until at last nine States
 Had launched their fortunes and their fates
 Upon the wave, and, like the other Nine
 Of Old, the deities or rage, did twine
 Their necks into the noose, that soon or late,
 Must, by a righteous judgment, be their fate.
 The Old Dominion, poised long time in doubt,
 Beset by foes within and foes without,
 At last her honest men were brought to grief,
 And vanquished by the tricks of Floyd—the thief!
 Then fell Virginia's ancient honored fame
 And with Secession stained her cherished name.
 Repudiated debts and yet vast debts to pay
 Will mar her future to the latest day;
 Her Treason loving sons, with suicidal hand,
 Have drench'd with fratricidal blood the land,
 And strive to rend the Union and destroy
 The Country, and that heritage of joy
 Her patriotic sires of old had pass'd
 Into their hands for keeping, to the last.

The lovers of the Union woke too late
 To see the thickening perils of the State;
 From village and from town they pour'd,
 The Legions of the North—a mighty horde!
 Among the first, Old Ulster's chosen sons,
 Each grasped his sword—his armor dons—
 Their ranks are form'd, none deems it hard,
 To leave the soil for other hands to guard.
 None deems the sacrifice of home too great,
 To save from waste the archives of the State.

We will not trace the chance vicissitude,
 The Country's hour of triumph and solicitude.
 We will not mar the opening year,
 By giving vent to aught to cause a fear,
 We hope, we feel the good deliverance nigh,

The time which all will hail without a sigh—
 The times of peaceful hours restored;
 Till then the tales of war we hoard.
 Then may some master mind relate
 The annals of domestic strife and hate,
 The Treason of the South just budding forth,
 The patriot ardor of the rising North,
 The battles won—the Union heroes slain—
 The living heroes added to the lists of fame.
 A worthy task for Homer's ancient lyre
 To wake the muse and stir the Epic fire.
 Till then we'll hold but one idea in view—
 The Union's honor'd ancient fabric to renew.

We cannot pass one man whose glorious name
 Already has gone down to lasting fame;
Brave Pratt! Thy memory shall be ever green,
 When deeds through history are truly seen;
 Thy ardor in our Country's sorest need—
 Thy step heroic in the foremost rank to lead—
 Thy death so glorious in the Cause of Right—
 Will keep the links of memory ever bright.

The men of Ulster, grateful for thy toil,
 Will raise a Column on their honored soil;
 Unheeding there the storm and battle shock;
 Thy name engraved on high in granite rock,
 Shall witness to the world a fit reward
 To those who once composed the "Ulster Guard,"
 Who at Manassas led the battle van,
 And at South Mountain bled, and Antietam.

* * * * *

The Muse on a New Year is seldom so logy,
 Though this time consenting, to please the old fogy,
 And take a sad view of the times and the Country,
 Has become more inclined to a view of the pantry.
 For as often our Generals, contractors and what-nots,

Are drawn from their duty to taste of the flesh pots;
 So the Muse in the midst of some serious thinking,
 Quite often stops short for the pleasure of drinking.
 A diversion so pleasant may break the connection—
 Give rhyme and the subject a different complexion.

With such vast expenses of life and of money,
 It's not easy, we know, to be very funny;
 But fighting and bloodshed have happened before—
 They had war for the love of it often of yore.
 In that excellent book called "Homeri Illias,"
 The Greeks levied war in a way that was curious—
 For many long years laid siege to the Trojans,
 And with all kinds of tools made work for th' surgeons.
 At last by a piece of most consummate strategy,
 They closed the ten acts of this piece of tragedy.
 By building a horse in such ample proportions
 That it held forty men with their armor and rations;
 And this wooden animal with quite pious impressions,
 Old Priam brought in to atone for transgressions.
 By this clever humbug—horse, foot and dragoons—
 The Greek army rushed in and reduced Troy to ruins.

Some Classic philosophers down in the City,
 By way of improvement on this ancient ditty,
 Have made up a team of this kind—'tis quite grand oh,
 And with two wooden horses named Ben and Fernando,
 Propose to drive into the heart of Secession;
 And with Johny Van Buren's Speech in possession,
 Declare that the breach in the Union is mended,
 And strife and the war and the bloodshed is ended.
 While this proposition our glory releases,
 'Twill make of the Union, instead of a peace, many pieces.

* * * * *

In spite of war, the sterling Sons of 'Sopus
 Jog on their way, nor heed the passing mopus;
 The times are here by no means "tight" or pressing,

If we can judge by ladies' style of dressing—
Their flowing skirts and ample spreading head-gear,
Conclusive proof of what they think of New Year.
Our Village Fathers, in their line of duty,
Have much improved our streets and added to their beauty,
And flag-stone sidewalks now, where'er we travel,
Are changed for the old-fashioned mud and gravel—
A vast improvement, and no one can doubt it,
The only wonder how we did without it.
We have here much our gratitude provoking
For all who are not born and bred for croaking.
Our peaceful homes and quiet way of living,
Were subjects of the Sermon on Thanksgiving.

The business of the town goes on with profit—
The calls for volunteers are filled with credit,
And our young men, who lately so much trembled,
Now, “out of the draft,” their former fears dissembled,
Can enter in the New Year’s joys and pleasures,
And from their surplus pelf and treasures,
Make your Newsboy “O, be joyful,” faster,
By handing out the Corporate sealed Shinplaster.
Then as you pass to church or cheerful dinner
He’ll “HAPPY NEW YEAR” wish to saint and sinner.

MEETING OF THE BAR.

IN RESPECT TO JUDGE HENRY BRODHEAD, JR.

[From the Kingston Argus.]

At a meeting of the Members of the Bar of Ulster County, held at the Court House in Kingston, Oct. 19th, 1868, to give expression to their feelings on the death of Judge Brodhead, on motion of William S. Kenyon, M. Schoonmaker was elected Chairman and R. Bernard Secretary of the meeting.

In seconding the resolutions, Mr. Lounsbury made the following remarks:

Mr. Chairman—In rising to move the adoption of the resolutions just read, although I cannot claim a place amongst his intimate personal associates, I may be permitted to speak among my brethren of the bar of Ulster County of my professional association with the deceased. Born in Ulster County and here achieving his business and professional reputation and success, he had become known to us all, and no one can fail to contribute from experience some testimony of his life of probity and virtue.

Henry Brodhead, Jr., was born in 1817, near Ellenville, in the town of Wawarsing. He descended from an old and honorable family in this county. His father, John Brodhead, was a farmer and prominent citizen in that section, highly respected as a Christian gentleman. In 1840 the deceased graduated at Rutgers College and shortly after commenced the study of law with Sickles and Pitcher in Kingston. He was admitted to practice in 1844 and opened an office in the village of Ellenville, where he continued to practice until the fall of 1851, when he was elected Surrogate of the County of Ulster and removed to Kingston. He held the office of Surrogate four years. It was in

this position he first commended himself to the people of the county, and achieved his first step in the path of professional success. The simplicity of his character, his reticence as to his own emotions, his fidelity to others' affairs entrusted to him, and his unwavering fairness and integrity were soon recognized and appreciated. On retiring from the office of Surrogate he carried with him to his new office in Wall street nearly the entire business in Surrogate's Courts, and took a hold upon the settlement of the estates of deceased persons that has made his name familiar in very many families in the county; and at the time of his decease he had so many estates in his charge as to make his loss very seriously felt.

In 1859 the deceased was elected County Judge of this county, in which office he served four years. His mind was peculiarly judicial. With none of the fervor of partisanship, with prejudice eradicated by education and familiarity with life as it presents itself to the eye of the judge, his decisions were, in the broad sense of that term, made upon the merits.

In 1862, upon the retirement of Jacob Burhans from the Presidency of the State of New York Bank, Henry Brodhead, Jr., was elected to fill his place, a position held by him to the time of his death.

I have thus briefly reviewed the business and professional career of the deceased. Few can be pointed out more completely successful. That elevated ground in life to be obtained by honesty, fidelity and learning had been reached. Amongst his associates he was a man of wealth, position and influence, gotten by honesty and without exciting envy or regret. A continuance of his life was desirable to himself—it was the wish of all, for enemies he had none. It is a sad duty, I now perform, to contemplate the work of death in thus taking a man just in his prime and from the midst of his usefulness—just as the world is making the largest use of the man and of his capacities for the human life.

It is not an easy task for me to speak of the social life of the deceased. Domestic comforts commend themselves to our profession. From the strife of the forum and the contentions of men, of which we see so much, the comforts of home are the great relief. To the deceased there was no such palliation. Unmarried and apart from intimate associates, he led a pure, simple and

frugal existence, taking no outside counsels of his own heart and imparting none of his own cares and anxieties.

Feeble in health, no one heard of his complainings, and though free in his charities to others, he sought no sympathies to himself. Like the Apostle to the Gentiles, his profession had purified sensual instinct and lifted his whole being to an intellectual plane, where the gratification of sense and art and the sumptuary taste were crowded from his appreciation.

It has been thought by some that eloquence was not a part of the characteristics of the mental structure of the deceased. I have had occasion to form a different opinion.

In 1853 the deceased was invited to deliver the 4th of July oration to the citizens of Stone Ridge and its vicinity at the Dutch Church in that village. I remember well the effect of his eloquence upon that occasion, upon the large audience in attendance. The plan of our government was graphically analyzed. The revolutionary struggle, out of which it arose, was eloquently described. He showed the perfection of our constitution as a device of human experience and foresight. And the obligations of the people for the maintenance of our government were never more effectively enjoined. For a long time the impressions of his eloquence remained and were spoken of by individuals present.

At the trial of causes, though his experience was not large, yet we have all witnessed efforts that showed much capacity as a forcible speaker. In the preparation of a cause he was thorough, and never was satisfied until the subject was fathomed to the bottom,—caution and accuracy were thus the characteristics of his professional reputation, and a plain and direct statement of facts and of established principles of law constituted his chief power as an orator; and with his impressive sincerity of manner he always excited respect and attention.

Much as he had adorned this life—much as there seemed in it hard as yet to leave—nothing in his life ever became him more than his leaving it. With perfect clearness he dictated the disposition of his property, and with a calm trust in the future he closed his eyes on earth and sense. In a remarkable degree he fulfilled the precept of the poet:

“So live that when thy summons comes to join
The innumerable caravan that moves

To the pale realms of shade, where each shall take
His chamber in the silent halls of death,
Thou go, not like the quarry slave at night,
Scourged to his dungeon, but sustained and soothed,
By an unfaltering trust approach thy grave,
Like one who wraps the drapery of his couch
About him and lies down to pleasant dreams.

NEW YEAR'S ADDRESS.

Written for the Kingston Press, 1866.

In reading Poem or Romance,
With author's idea, we advance,
And Fancy paints before our eyes
Each scene to startle and surprise.
The palate, too, will play its part,
And take impressions like the heart.
In Scott, we see his scenes of war,
And drink home-brewed and usquebaugh;
And we are all at sea, though at
The gas-light, reading Marryatt.
In books of travel so we find,
That we, too, travel in the mind;
Engaging in this fond pursuit,
We see and taste, mid flower and fruit.
The poor as well as rich receive
The joys imagination gives;
And our young ladies often think
That novels do for meat and drink.

* * * * *

What nonsense your writing, the school-boy will say,
You surely confound the school-time with play;
What pleasure or good, can book-learning instill,
That's equal at all to our riding down hill?

'Tis nonsense, pure nonsense, the Doctor too knows,
No muscle or fibre from Novel e'er grows;
For of the young ladies, whatever you talk,
They always will eat of slate pencils and chalk.

'Tis the worst kind of nonsense to Farmers and such,
Who know that the Fancy is meant for the Church,
And the boy that reads much is spoiled for the plow,
Is banished the household, which no sloth can allow.

What drink, says the Critic, can ever compare,
When thirsty in Summer, with our own Lager Bier?
And ill luck to old dotard, who wrote about ships,
E'er "Turreted Monsters" has passed from our lips.

And speaking of travel, 'tis the fashion we know,
For all with the means, on each Summer to go,
On Mountain or Sea-shore, to re-create health,
Or to spend in gay show their superfluous wealth.

One day in the year, to the News-boy is given,
To find upon earth some foretaste of heaven.
And he, a fair country, proposes to view,
And make it his subject in writing to you.

TURKEY.

Since Byron has written his travels in "Greece,"
Roast Turkey we always prefer to roast geese;
And oysters for stuffing will flavor the whole
To an epicure's taste, and fill the whole soul.

In carving a turkey, much skill is required,
Besides, a sharp-knife, to keep you inspired,
To do it right well, if you would be able,
You must study Lord Chesterfield's book, "At the Table."

In helping around, try to give each his choice,
Of white or dark meat, as he gives in his voice;
To deny any choice is the merest pretense,
Deserving the part that goes last o'er the fence.

In eating roast Turkey, each taste has its laws,
But most will prefer it, with Cranberry sauce;

And none will refuse, what so proper would seem,
The mealy potato, mashed up in sweet cream.

Of pastries there's none to the taste or the eye,
That equals, with Turkey, our own pumpkin pie.
To wind up the feast without wine in our cups,
We'll drink you a toast, in hard cider and nuts.

A health to Sile Saxton, our Sheriff elect,
Whose new term of office, to-day takes effect.
The first of his party, that ever did fail,
When running for office, to keep out of the jail.

And here's to Lefever, our new County Clerk,
Who always for friend is quite ready to work;
To win his election, why nothing was neater,
To save Mr. Foland, required salt "Peter."

One toast to our Patrons, the friends of the "Press,"
We hope that their shadows may never grow less,
Let's stand by the party, through thick and through thin,
And satisfy conscience by deserving to win.

And now, my young lady, since we are alone,
We'll wish our best wish, and break the "wish-bone."
May visions of happiness dance in your play,
And fill the whole year, that commences today.

* * * * *

We thus our New Year dinner spread,
Hand in the change, "One Quarter" a head.

THE FOURTH IN ANDES.

(From the Kingston Journal, July 29, 1870.)

MR. LOUNSBERRY'S ORATION.

Mr. President—Ladies and Gentlemen: Some four centuries ago Columbus was searching in the then mysterious western waters for a shorter route to the wealth of the Indies. From August 2nd to October 12th, with three small vessels and a discontented crew of ninety men, he had sailed on the unknown seas. He was driven by currents of the ocean unknown to the navigators of his day. No chart marked out the coast which inspiration had pictured to his mind. The magnetic needle, which had guided the navigator in explored waters, startled him by no longer pointing to the North Star. In the darkness of the night; in a storm; when hope was dying in his breast; when followers had turned against him as a leader to destruction, there burst suddenly upon his vision the light of a new continent—a continent destined to shed the light of a more exalted civilization upon the entire world.

A great conquest was thus accomplished by apparently inadequate means. It opened a new field for new thought and opinion and the development of empire on a new political basis. I shall not stop to trace this development, but shall be content to note here the elements of progress—the distinct features of American civilization which are commemorated by the ceremonies of this day.

Equality of all men by birth was the asserted dogma of American Independence. This does not mean that men are born with equal endowments, or that they could all come into the world under the same circumstances, or that they could acquire equal

excellence. It was intended simply to dispute the divine rights of kings—to strip hereditary power from the swaddled bantling of royalty, and resolve back to the people the God-given power of self-government.

Who are these monarchs? Whence this ceaseless flood
 Of colored water known as royal blood?
 Blockheads or Solomons, it matters not,
 They must be kings, because by kings begot.

On the 4th of July, 1776, society organized itself in this country upon the doctrine that the people **were** the sovereign power; that the office-holder, however high his place, became only the agent, representative or servant of the people from whom is derived all power. The natural tendency of all human power is toward tyranny and oppression. Any man placed at the head of the government without responsibility and without accountability, will soon, by the natural force of human nature, become a despot. It is the great excellence of our government that this cannot happen: the officers are chosen by the people, and must, after a brief period, return to them again for an approval or disapproval of their conduct. Tyranny, if it happen, will be brief. The more severe the oppression be felt, the quicker it will meet its remedy. In a monarchy it has often happened that the people have risen on their oppressor, and hurled him, in their wrath, from his throne. In all such revolutions fields are devasted, and many severe distresses must be felt from the very remedy itself. In our form of government a revolution as effectually happens every year without causing the mass of society one pang, and without breaking in upon the peace of the community.

In the ninety-four years since we emerged from our Colonial tutelage, a great people have grown up on the principles expressed in the Declaration of Independence which has been read in your hearing. I address today a portion of a great empire—washed by two oceans—occupying the entire belt of the Continent between the extreme of heat and cold, and constituting an empire of more power and extent than any other nation on the habitable globe. In variety of soil, in mineral wealth, in progressive energy, it is not exaggeration to say, that this nation among the other nations of the earth is *facile princeps*. That wealth of India,

which led Columbus in his journey west has been reached for us, and has commenced to pour itself into our national life. An ocean telegraph, connecting us with Europe; the Pacific railroad, recently completed, and a line of American steamships connecting California with China, have put into our hands the keys of communication and a control of trade covering over one-half the earth's circuit.

In our short history of less than a century we have ripened into a powerful and matured people; matured in politics, education and art; matured in wealth, trade and refinement. We have not passed through this portion of our history without danger; we have not reached our present greatness without a struggle—a memorable struggle within the recollection of all who hear me; a struggle brought to memory by fresh graves in church yard and cemetery; by the graves of our slain on a hundred battle-fields, from the opening of a carnival of blood at Bull Run to its close at Appomattox Court House. The dread discord of sections has been healed by a plenteous baptism in blood. We are reminded of it by a national debt of \$2,500,000,000; we are reminded of it by the emancipation of the slave, and by an amendment of the Constitution, admitting all black persons to equal suffrage with the whites.

These changes come red hot from the late collision of parties and today form exciting questions of party debate. It is not my purpose, nor would it become this occasion, to speak of these questions in a party sense. We meet here today not as partisans, but all as friends of the country, and unite in the old watchword: "My Country right—My Country right or wrong." Of the Fifteenth Amendment, I may be permitted to say for myself that, whilst it was a mooted question, I was opposed from policy to admitting the black race in this country to an equality with the Anglo-Saxon race. Now that it has become an accomplished fact, I believe in a cheerful acquiescence in the result. I have seen no better proof that the blacks were entitled to vote than that they seem to have appreciated their new born rights by a nearly universal celebration of their triumph. In this they have my sympathy. They would have been more or less than men if they had not shown their consciousness of the great power placed in their hands by the ballot and the new status to which they are lifted

as a portion of the nation. If women, now aspiring for the same privilege, shall by their own power, or by any help, be habilitated with the ballot, I shall greet their achievement with much greater pleasure. We will deck the national crown with two new fragrant flowers, "The Night-blooming Cereus" and "Love among the Roses."

Timid people have been much alarmed at the gigantic proportions of the national debt; I have for myself no such alarm. Let me cite from English history the lesson afforded by a people similar in origin and character to our own, but as we claim, and truly claim, a country and people in many respects inferior to our own in energy and greatness. England has during two centuries accumulated a debt that has become the greatest prodigy that ever perplexed the sagacity and confounded the pride of statesmen and philosophers. At every stage in the growth of that debt it has been seriously asserted by wise men that bankruptcy and ruin were at hand. Yet still the debt went on growing and still bankruptcy and ruin were as remote as ever. When the great contest with Louis the XIV was finally terminated by the Peace of Utrecht, the English nation owed about fifty millions; and that was considered, not merely by the rude multitude, not merely by fox-hunting 'quires and coffee-house orators, but by acute and profound thinkers, as an encumbrance which would permanently cripple the body politic. Nevertheless, trade flourished; wealth increased; the nation became richer and richer. Then came the war of the Austrian succession, and the debt rose to eighty millions. Pamphleteers, historians and orators pronounced that now, at all events, their case was desperate. Yet the signs of increasing prosperity, signs which could be neither counterfeited or simulated, ought to have satisfied observant and reflecting men that a debt of eighty million was less to England, which was governed by Pelham, than a debt of fifty millions had been to England which was governed by Oxford. Soon war again broke forth; and under the energetic and prodigal administration of the first William Pitt the debt rapidly swelled to one hundred and forty millions.

As soon as the first intoxication of victory was over, men of theory and men of business almost unanimously pronounced that the fatal day had now arrived. The only statesman, indeed, active

or speculative, who did not share in the business delusion, was Edmund Burke. David Hume, undoubtedly one of the most profound economists of his time, declared that the national madness had exceeded the madness of the Crusaders. Richard Cœur de Lion and St. Louis had not gone in the face of arithmetical demonstration. It was impossible to prove by figures that the road to Paradise did not lie through the Holy Land, but it was possible to prove by figures that the road to national ruin was through the national debt. It was idle, however, to talk now about the road; all the revenues of the island north of Trent and west of Reading were mortgaged; better for us, he said, to have been conquered by Prussia or Austria than to be saddled with the interest of one hundred and forty millions. And yet this great philosopher, for such he was, had only to open his eyes and see improvement all around him; cities increasing, cultivation extending marts too small for the crowd of buyers and sellers, harbors insufficient to contain the shipping; artificial rivers joining the chief inland seat of industry to the chief seaports, streets better lighted, houses better furnished, richer wares exposed for sale in stately shops, swifter carriages rolling along smoother roads. He had indeed, only to compare the Edinburgh of his boyhood with the Edinburgh of his old age. His predictions remain to futurity, a memorable witness of the weakness from which the strongest minds are not exempt. Adam Smith saw a little, and but a little, farther. He admitted that immense as the burden was, the nation did actually sustain it and thrived under it in a way which nobody could have foretold. But he warned his countrymen not to repeat so hazardous an experiment. The limit had been reached; even a small increase might be fatal. Not less gloomy were the views which George Grenville, a minister eminently diligent and practical, took of the financial situation. The nation must, he conceived, sink under a debt of one hundred and forty millions, unless a portion of the load was born by the American colonies. The attempt to lay a portion of the load on the American colonies produced another war; the war left them with an additional hundred millions of debt and without the colonies whose help had been represented as indispensable. Again England was given over; and again the strange patient persisted in becoming stronger and more blooming in spite of all

the diagnostics and prognostics of State physicians. As she had been visibly more prosperous with a debt of one hundred and forty millions than a debt of fifty millions, so she was visibly more prosperous with a debt of two hundred and forty millions than with a debt of one hundred and forty millions. Soon, however, the wars that sprang from the French revolution, and which far exceeded in cost any that the world had ever seen, taxed the powers of public credit to its utmost. When the world was again at rest the funded debt of England amounted to eight hundred millions. If the most enlightened man had been told in 1792 that in 1815 the interest on eight hundred millions would be duly paid to the day, at the bank, he would have been as hard of belief as if he had been told the government would be in possession of the lamp of Aladdin or the purse of Fortunatus. It was in truth a gigantic, a fabulous debt; and we can hardly wonder that the cry of despair should have been louder than ever. But again the cry was found to have been as unreasonable as ever. After a few years of exhaustion, England recovered herself; yet, like Addison's valetudinarian, who continued to whimper that he was dying of consumption till he became so fat that he was shamed into silence, she went on complaining that she was sunk in poverty till her wealth showed itself by tokens which made her complaints ridiculous. The beggared, the bankrupt society, not only proved able to meet all its obligations, but while meeting these obligations, grew richer and richer so fast that growth could almost be discerned by the eye. In every county one saw wastes recently turned into gardens; in every city saw new streets and markets; in the suburbs of every great seat of industry new villas multiplying fast, each embosomed in the gay little paradise of lilacs and roses. While shallow politicians were repeating that the energies of the people were borne down by the weight of the public burdens, the first journey was performed by steam on a railway. Soon the island was intersected by railways. A sum exceeding the whole amount of the national debt at the end of the America war was in a few years voluntarily expended by this ruined people in viaducts, tunnels, embankments, bridges, stations, engines. Meantime taxation was almost constantly becoming lighter: yet still the Exchequer was full. It may now be affirmed, without fear of contradiction, that they find

it as easy to pay the interest of eight hundred millions as their ancestors found it a century ago to pay the interest of eighty millions.

The lesson which History gives of the progress of the English debt, and of the ability of that country to bear each increase of the burden by an increase of resource, appropriately describes our own situation. We, too, on the heel of the creation of a gigantic national debt, have been largely investing in improvements; we have built and are now building railroads at great expense. The progressive energies of the people have not apparently been crippled, but have been stimulated. Our people, not only as individuals but as municipalities, have lately created debts for railroad enterprises, intended and no doubt calculated, to benefit the country and to increase its capacity to sustain a public debt.

The Governor of the State has lately refused to sanction a State tax to improve this locality. He can justify his conduct very much by the fact that unworthy projects were coupled with ours and that he was not called upon to discriminate when the Legislature did not, but though I greatly admire the man and his independence and firmness as chief magistrate of the State, I should have gladly seen him approve of laws giving State aid to certain railroads which are about to open a large territory to a better communication with the world; bring the produce nearer to market, and give additional comfort and prosperity to its people. It was within the scope of his official duty to have discriminated in favor of deserving enterprises and yet protect the State by withholding his sanction from the undeserving. This community has borne its share of taxation for the Erie canal, the Erie railroad, the Susquehanna railroad and kindred projects of improvement. When our time came to be served by the State, any harsh rule which stops to us entirely the aiding hand of the State will operate as a great injustice—an injustice for which the situation of our country as to its public debt does not afford a sufficient apology. But the Governor's veto will not stop our enterprises; will not check the onward growth of the country. It may delay the consummation of our hopes, but it will not prevent Delaware county from having an outlet across Pine Hill—if not through the hill, at least over it.

Mr. President: On Saturday for the first time in my life I crossed this great natural barrier to which I have alluded, and penetrated into the rich body of farm land of this town of Andes. I was not prepared for the evidence of wealth and comfort which met my eye. You have done much here to develop, without the aid of the outside world, the inheritance you have received. But much more is yet to be done. You must boldly grasp the situation and build a railroad, so as to reach the centers of trade and place yourself in closer communication with the outside world. Thriving villages will grow up along the line of the railroad, through this section, and new enterprises, new faces, new houses and new land will greet our eyes in no distant future.

We have no tyrant to repress ambition; no aristocracy to make labor odious. If true to our own liberties; if true to the legacy left us by our revolutionary ancestors; if true to the spirit of liberty engrafted in the Constitution, the future of our country will outstrip the most brilliant picture of fancy.

It is the glory of our country to furnish an asylum for the oppressed of all nations. We are, in fact, children of persecution. We have descended from the Huguenot refugees, from the religious persecuted sects of England and Scotland; from fugitives from the conscriptions of France, and from the expatriated Irishry. Can a people thus descended ever shut their doors to the emigrant seeking a new home in a free land? Let them come from the fertile fields of France and Germany and from the over-crowded population of Ireland, and we will welcome all, and give them room to help clear off our forests, tunnel our mountains, cultivate our prairies, and cast in their lot with a free people.

Mr President: The Chinese nation has many things to excite our admiration. In their opinion China is the Celestial kingdom. They have a religion older than Christianity, and religious doctrines older than Calvinism. They have pigments that are bright as the prismatic colors, and pigtails that are the admired of all Chinese admirers. It is their fault of exclusion that has kept them from getting the higher light of civilization. They have excluded missionaries of religion and the ship bringing them the works of art and manufactures from other nations. There is something of the Chinese element in this country. Our

high tariff is the creature of the Chinese doctrines of the party in power in Congress. The cry against the Chinese shoemakers lately brought to North Adams is from the Chinese element in Massachusetts. But all this is contrary to the genius of American institutions. A free distribution of men and means; free commerce and a free diffusion of education and intelligence—this is what we mean as a nation, and what the people have and will always teach to the administration of the country.

“Is not this land a presage of the dawn
 Of freedom o'er the world? It is free,
 From end to end, from cliff to lake, 'tis free!
 Free as our torrents are that leap our rocks,
 And plow our valleys * * * I love
 Its very storms. * * * *
 Ye know yon jutting cliff, round which a track
 Up hither winds; whose base is but the brow
 To such another one, with scanty room
 For two abreast to pass. O'er taken there
 By the mountain blast, I've laid me flat along;
 And while gust followed gust more furiously,
 As if to sweep me o'er the horrid brink;
 And I have thought of other lands whose storms
 Are summer flaws to those of mine, and just
 Have wished me there—the thought that mine was free
 Has checked that wish, and I have raised my head
 And cried in thraldom to that furious wind,
 Blow on! This is the land of Liberty.”

THE OLD PINE TREE.

BY WILLIAM LOUNSBERRY,

(From the Mountain Guide, July, 1874.)

The early settler cut and cleared
Bush, trunk and limb away;
Before his axe the tall tree fell,
In sown field of to-day.
One solitary trunk he spared,
A sheltered spot to be,
Where flocks might gather from the sun,
Beneath the old pine tree.

Among its branches ever green
The dove, with tired wing,
Has rested in its onward flight—
The finnet stopped to sing:
And meditating in its shade,
The maiden, fancy free,
Has often sat in evening hour,
Beneath that old pine tree.

Full many tales of early love
Told into happy ear,
And sighing sound from broken hearts.
The passing wind doth hear;
Such varied scenes of human life
Are all told o'er to me,
When listening in the quiet morn
Beneath the old pine tree.

At morn, and noon, and eventide,
Its spreading branches form
A cover from the wilting sun,
A shelter from the storm.
And spirits from the misty past,
On earthly ministry,
Unseen, tread round the well worn sod
Beneath the old pine tree.

WINNESOOK, THE BIG INDIAN.

BY WILLIAM LOUNSBERRY.

(From the Mountain Guide, July, 1874.)

"The trail must soon lead over the hill, Captain."

This remark was made by Walt Bogart to Captain Benson, the leader of the party.

"Most people would be deceived in the same way, I think," said the Captain, "but I am satisfied we follow the stream for a long distance yet, before the trail ascends the side of the mountain. From the account Jake Middagh and Joe Roosa gave when they were on their trout expedition last Spring, I am satisfied we have a long distance yet before us, before we reach the wigwam of the Big Indian. But their encampment of last night shows we are not far behind them, and on their trail, which is very likely to follow the bend of the stream, winding through the narrow defile. What seems to you to be the face of the mountain, will open, as we approach it, to the right or left, and we will see before us many times the same appearance—as if the valley was about to terminate at the foot of the mountain."

"Have you ever seen the Big Indian, Captain?"

"No. But I have heard Cale Rappelje tell of him. He saw him several times. Wnnesook was once very friendly to the white settlers, and when he was young and before he became Chief of this remnant of the Neversink tribe, he often came to the settlement and was said to be enamored of a young and friendless woman, who was working for Mrs. Tack. She married Joe Bundy, and it is said was badly treated, and one night disappeared. Bundy has suspected for a long time that Wnnesook carried her off by force, or that she deserted him for the wigwam of the

dusky Chieftain. He has never ventured before this into the wilderness to seek his missing spouse, but he quarreled with the Big Indian and threatened to kill him, and since then the conduct of Winnesook has been morose and ill-natured to the white settlers. No open violence has been exhibited until the depredation at Cantine's, Wednesday night, which is charged to Winnesook, who must have been accompanied by a considerable band, or they could not have driven off so many cattle."

"How large did Rappelje say the Big Indian was?" asked Bogart.

"Very nearly seven feet in height," replied the Captain. "He was once quite spare and slender, but in later years, Cale says, he has grown muscular and presents a formidable enemy in a wrestle. If we had to meet him on equal terms, I would not like the encounter. It is over two years since he has visited the settlement, and then his visit did not end very civilly. He was provoked into a fight while he was intoxicated, and he threw Pete Burke through the upper panel of the barroom door at Mrs. Tack's; and Winnesook was severely pelted with tumblers and stones by Burke's party, before he got away into the wood."

The persons engaged in this conversation were the Captain and a subaltern officer of a company of volunteers, of the settlement in Marbletown, to recapture a lot of cattle that had been driven off from the farm of John Cantine two nights before. The company had started early from their night's encampment, and at about eight o'clock had come upon the previous night's encampment of the Indians and the tracks of the cattle, and a halt had taken place to investigate the number of the Indians, and the probable start they had of their pursuers.

Captain Benson and Bogart were standing on a little rise of ground near the present settlement of Phœnicia, in the town of Shandaken. The morning sun lit up the mountains, and brought out the brilliant tints of the autumnal foliage. To the north the mountain was closed in by a bend in the valley, and to the south the stream flowed through a belt of lowland stretching out on either side to the mountain. This has since become beautiful meadow, but then it was thickly covered with forest trees of lofty hemlock, with an occasional beech or maple.

Leaving Captain Benson's party for a moment, let us follow the movements of Winnesook and his band. They were made up of various tribes that had formerly occupied the west bank of the Hudson river and the Catskill mountains, and were known at this time in the settlement, as the Neversink Indians. They had lived on friendly terms with the whites for several years, and had their camping grounds along the Neversink and upon the branches of the Esopus, a region yet filled with game and choice fish. Winnesook was a natural chief, and possessed great bodily strength and fleetness in the chase. He had become singularly fascinated with the person of Gertrude Mollyneaux, whom he had frequently met in the settlement; and after her marriage with Bundy, he planned her capture—an event she did not seem to resent, or soon became reconciled to—and at the time of which we are speaking she had been several years an inhabitant of the Big Indian's wigwam, where she had borne him several children.

The capture of Cantine's cattle was planned by Winnesook, either from malice towards the settlers, or from the partisan feeling fostered by the British army, then occupying Manhattan Island and corrupting the savages, when occasion offered, to aid Burgoyne in his efforts to join General Howe. The raid had been executed by Winnesook with a band of about twenty Indians. The cattle had been taken with such spoils of poultry as could be carried with them; and whilst the subordinate Indians had driven the cattle up the valley of the Esopus, the Chief, with a small number of fleet Indians, hovered near the settlement, to observe any measures that might be taken to recapture the property.

On the day that followed the taking, he had watched the preparations; on the next day he had observed all the movements, and constantly kept track of the progress of the expedition. At the time Captain Benson and Bogart were conversing, he and two of his tribe were within hearing, covered by the thick foliage of the hemlock undergrowth; whilst another of them had taken instructions to those driving the cattle, then not more than three miles in advance, in which they were directed to separate by Stony Clove, the Notch, and the direction of Snyder Hollow, without disclosing their movements, while the apparent trail should still be continued up the main stream. This artifice was executed by a device familiar to Indians, by driving the cattle through

the bed of the streams which flow down from these mountain gorges, for a distance, until the trail was lost.

Captain Benson's party had been made up for pursuit quite speedily, when it is considered that the settlement was scattered and had no organized military force. It numbered upwards of a hundred men. It was a question whether the purpose of the Indians was warlike, or one of mere theft; and the feelings of the pursuing party were yet unsettled, as to whether the Indians were pursued as enemies, or whether the purpose was only to re-take the stolen property; but it was known that one member of the party meant blood. That was Bundy, who had "nursed his wrath to keep it warm."

Captain Benson saw him approaching, at the moment of the conversation described, and called to him:

"Joe! do you propose visiting Winnesook to ask him about the health of his family?"

"If I can draw a bead upon his yellow carcass," answered Bundy, "I will send him a visitor. I think the best way to civilize the yellow serpent is to let day light into his black heart."

"You look at the question with the green eyes of jealousy, I think, Joe," said Captain Benson.

"I'll take a look at him along this piece of iron," said Bundy, holding up his rifle, as if in the act of aiming it.

Captain Benson moved his party forward in pursuit, without much military precision, but nevertheless with the caution and skill each person possessed from his experience as a hunter or woodsman. They saw no enemy, and found none of the property. They had been several times in doubt about the trail, and suspected the fact that the cattle had been divided among different parties; but it had been done so artfully that the different trails were not discovered; nor would it have been prudent to divide the company in the pursuit. At night Captain Benson's party went into camp, near the present junction of the Esopus and Birch creeks. Pickets were stationed at different points to prevent surprise and the camp-fires were lighted; fish were caught from the adjacent stream, and each person was quietly engaged in satisfying his hunger, or resting from the fatigues of the day, when the sharp crack of a rifle was heard, and Bundy

came running into camp in an excited manner, exclaiming, "I have seen and shot the Big Indian."

"It was his ghost, more likely," said Bogart. "His spirit haunts Joe by day and by night," he added.

"Where is he now?" asked Captain Benson.

"He disappeared in the bushes," answered Bundy.

"Let us see," said the Captain, "whether Joe has shot at a ghost or real flesh and blood."

Several of the party at once sallied forth in the direction pointed out by Bundy, but nothing was found to verify his story, and the camp was undisturbed during the rest of the night.

The following morning traces of blood were found from the point where Bundy had killed the ghost, as it had jestingly been talked of in the camp. The blood tracks led to a large pine tree, and in the hollow trunk was found the Big Indian, dead, but still erect. He had given no alarm, but with true Indian fortitude, had yielded up his spirit, where he had hid himself from danger of pursuit. His face wore the stoical firmness in death it had carried during life.

Bundy examined with some pride the wound through the chest, while his companions released the body, and decently laid out its stalwart limbs upon the turf upon the bank of the stream, and washed away the stains of blood.

While they were thus engaged, there emerged from the forest a form which several recognized as the missing spouse of Bundy. She paid no attention to any one, but threw herself upon the dead body of the Chieftain, and uttered the most frantic shrieks of grief. She refused all overtures of sympathy from the party of Benson. Bundy himself offered none, but abashed by the grief-stricken woman, who seemed to have forgotten him in another passion, he retired from the scene.

The body was buried on a little rise of ground near by. The woman Gertrude attended with her children, and with a more subdued grief witnessed the interment. But she could not be induced to return to the settlement, or to accept any pity or assistance from the settlers.

The Indians, after they heard of the death of Winnesook, returned most of the cattle which they had taken off and accepted overtures of peace and friendship. They were in a few years

forced back to a more remote wilderness by the advancing settlement; but Gertrude, adopting a residence by herself, reared her children near the grave of the Big Indian.

The large pine tree fell with age, where it had stood, at the foot of the valley of the Esopus, now known as Big Indian Hollow. The old stump was still recognized by the inhabitants of the vicinity until it was a few years ago covered by the railroad embankment, near the bridge now spanning the Esopus, a short distance above Big Indian Station.

HISTORICAL ADDRESS

Delivered at the City of Kingston by William Lounsbury at the
Centennial Anniversary of American Independence,
July 4, 1876.

This is the forest primeval. The murmuring pines and the hemlocks,
Bearded with moss, and in garments green, indistinct in the twilight,
Stand like Druids of old, with voices sad and prophetic. * * *

—Longfellow.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Office of the Mayor of the City of Kingston,
Kingston, N. Y., June 5th, 1876.

WILLIAM LOUNSBURY, ESQ.:

Dear Sir: At the request of the Common Council I write you, as Secretary of the Ulster County Historical Society, to furnish, through the society, the historical sketch of the county, town and city for the Centennial Celebration.

Please answer, so that the committee may be advised of the certainty of the production.

Most Respectfully Yours,
JAS. G. LINDSLEY, Mayor.

Kingston, N. Y., June 6th, 1876.

JAMES G. LINDSLEY, ESQ., Mayor, &c.:

Dear Sir: I have this morning received your favor of yesterday, on behalf of the Common Council, requesting me as Secretary of the Ulster County Historical Society to furnish through the society the historical sketch of the county, town and city for the Centennial celebration.

I ought to say that I hold the office in the society by virtue of the last election the society had the vitality to make. The society itself has passed into history. There is therefore no special fitness in my selection on that account; and I am satisfied that a better choice could have been made.

It is possible, however, that the Common Council may have put reliance on my general good nature and willingness to do what is asked of me, and I will not therefore disappoint them, if the brief time allowed is sufficient for the purpose. I do not want, either, to seem unmindful of the honor conferred by the selection. The history of the county, town and city has been long the promised subject of history, but thus far the promise has not been realized. I am therefore invited to plough the virgin soil of Ulster County history, and to strike the axe into the "primeval forest" of our city annals.

I make no great expectations of the result of the effort, but it will be the beginnings of what may in time become a very creditable collection of local records.

Very Respectfully Yours,

WILLIAM LOUNSBERRY.

HISTORICAL ADDRESS.

Messrs. the Mayor and Aldermen, Ladies and Gentlemen:

The settlement of New England in North America has been much more spoken of in the books than that of the New Netherlands. More even than that of Jamestown in Virginia; although it was later in point of time by about ten years. The reason for this is quite apparent. The settlers of New England were themselves the writers of history, and have, ever since their landing in America, thrown into their origin a literary zeal as powerful to awaken interest as was their strength of religious fervor which sustained them through the sufferings of their first few months of a New England winter on a sterile shore.

The settlers of Virginia were of the English aristocracy, who cared much for the glory of family and nothing for the glory of the people they were starting upon a national career. The

settlers of the New Netherlands were traders, who cared for the "mint, anise and cummin," and neglected the weightier matters of their future history. It so happened that Virginia, settled in 1607, became the mother of Presidents; New York, settled 1610, became the commercial metropolis of the North American colonies; and Massachusetts, settled in 1620, furnished the men who have been historians of them all—making Plymouth Rock the central light in the colonial history of America.

It is known that Henry Hudson, with a Dutch commission, entered the river which now bears his name as early as 1609. He then examined it as far as the confluence of the Mohawk, and took home with him a map of the river and an account of the region watered by it. This was quickly printed at Leyden, and spread through Holland and the Netherlands, and acted powerfully upon the adventurous spirits of the youth of Amsterdam. In the three years following settlements were made on Manhattan Island, on an island in the river just below Albany, and at some point in the territory afterwards known as the settlement in the Esopus—within the present limits of the City of Kingston.

An English vessel, in 1613, found the settlement on Manhattan Island so flourishing that it was not molested.

The colonists on the banks of the Hudson seem to have prospered from the first. They were evidently thrifty and enterprising, and in the Esopus founded a trade with the Indians, and had commenced agricultural pursuits along the valley of the Esopus and Rondout creeks, with a landing at Twaalfskill. In 1620 the colonies on the Hudson were included in the incorporation of the Dutch West India Company, and were thus organized into a community on a trading basis, with a Governor located at New York.

There is little doubt that the Dutch colony was the most thrifty of all the colonies in North America. No writer of the early history of the country has undertaken to procure statistics of its growth from the proceedings of the Dutch West India Company, doubtless still to be found at Amsterdam; but the evidence of the fact are sufficiently apparent from the extent of the territory covered by it and in the preponderating influence of the early Dutch settlement in the history of the locality, since the English took the control of the government. At the time of the revolution

the population of Manhattan Island and the other settlements on the Hudson furnished the largest quotas to the Continental army, and bore the brunt of the assault of the British arms at Saratoga and along the Hudson river. The result of these military operations was, in the opinion of historians, decisive of the war to a very great extent, as the division of the Continental army by the possession of the line of the Hudson river by the British troops was the great aim of their commanding general for a long time.

The Dutch colonists were an intelligent people, of deep religious convictions, and very strongly imbued with the creed of the Protestant sects of Holland. The Reformed Dutch Churches of the County of Ulster bear witness to the extent and character of the population of the early settlement. These churches were founded at Kingston, Hurley, Marbletown, Rochester and Wawarsing, and were supplied with faithful and educated pastors, going among the people by the name of Dominie. The church records of births, deaths and marriages are today the most reliable and valuable records of the genealogy of Ulster County families, and the influence of the early Dutch settlers is still preserved with the churches then founded. The Reformed Churches still remain abiding places of sound doctrine, and the points about which is yet collected a very large proportion of the church-going people of the county—the descendants of the early Dutch settlers, and those to whom they have become allied by business associations and inter-marriages.

The settlement seems to have been generally on terms of friendship with the aborigines. Occasional hostilities with the Indians are recorded, but nothing occurred seriously to disturb the prosperity of the colony until in 1663, when the settlement of Wiltwyck was attempted to be surprised by the Indians. The settlers succeeded in repelling the attack, but not until a massacre of upwards of one hundred of the inhabitants of Hurley, then known as the "New Dorp," and the loss of captives, amongst which were several of the wives of the principal settlers. The pursuit and recapture of the prisoners led to the discovery of the fertile valley of the Wallkill, and its subsequent acquisition by patent.

The causes which led to this rupture with the Indians were

not from the fault of the settlers, but had a political origin, and sprung from the effort of the two principal nations, England and France, then rivals, for territorial acquisition in North America. The Indians had become partisans of the French, and were their allies in a series of attacks all along the line of settlement from New England to Virginia.

English troops were in this way sent to the colonies, and the political control of the settlement on the Hudson passed into the hands of England in 1664. The Dutch traders at Manhattan Island peaceably yielded up their government to an English vessel, but retained their property and trade, and took title of the lands from King Charles II.

This revolution was important nevertheless, and gradually worked an important change in the character of the people. The names of the settlements were changed, and New York and Albany were named after English princes, and Kingston was incorporated and named in honor of an English borough adjacent to London. Marbletown and Hurley were incorporated, and grants of land were made from the Crown to Trustees, to be held for settlement, in these towns. An extensive grant was also made, under the name of New Paltz, to twelve Trustees, some of whom were Huguenot refugees, and parcel of an emigration from France that came out to nearly all the colonies to escape religious cruelty in their native country.

The County of Ulster included these municipal incorporations, and was organized in the year 1683, and included the present counties of Ulster, Delaware and Sullivan and parts of Greene and Orange, and extended from Sawyer's creek on the north to Murderer's creek, near the Highlands, on the south.

From the first settlement to this period, substantially a half a century, the government was copied after cities and villages of Holland, and presented a mixture of the republican and patriarchal form. Judges were chosen, who were to be "honest, intelligent persons, possessing real estate, peaceable men, good subjects to their Lords and Patrons, and the high administration appointed by them, professors of the Reformed religion, as it is now preached in the United Netherlands, in conformity to the word of God, and the orders of the Synod of Dordrecht."

An aristocratic element was introduced by the English plan

of colonization. Grants of large tracts of land were made by favor of the King to individuals—some of which have remained in their families to this day, in part at least. But, as an illustration of a different result: an heir of one of these patents, traveling in France, spent his inheritance, and pledged his share of the patent to a money-lender there. This clerk, sent out to foreclose, remained in possession, and the tract now bears his name, and is the basis of title to nearly one thousand farms in Ulster, Delaware and Greene counties.

The colony after its change of government was reinforced largely by British subjects—Scotch and Welsh mostly at first, but afterwards by Irish; so that no colony presents a better illustration of the transfusion of the blood of nations. It is a hardy, practical race—little led by bigotry, and bred to a tolerance in creed, and experienced in the various forms of government, and the melting of a form of worship in the bond of marriage.

It does no violence to the dignity of history to turn aside from the current events to do honor to a hero, entitled to it by a union of ability and fortune. A young Welshman came out from his country, and made his first residence near the present city of Troy, in the Rensselaer manor. In 1652, to better his business prospects, he removed within the present limits of Kingston, and became distinguished by his aptness and vigor, and was chosen captain of the company of militia. In the attack by the Indians in 1663 he distinguished himself by a successful organization of his troop and in repelling the savages. The attack was a surprise, and it threatened at one time the entire destruction of the community. But it was met with vigor, boldness and skill, and was turned to a rout of the Indian warriors, that ultimately led to the extermination of all the savage bands in the neighborhood of the settlement.

In recognition of these services, an order was issued by Gov. Lovelace in 1672, and confirmed by Gov. Dongan in 1681, setting forth that "Capt. Thomas Chambers, a Justice of the Peace of Esopus, hath done signal and notable service in the wars against the Indians; and having by industry acquired a considerable estate, and having among the rest a mansion house not far from Kingston, with a great tract of land thereto belonging, which said house is made defensive against any sudden incursion of the

Indians or others: in acknowledgment of these services and in recompense thereof, the said house and lands are erected into the Manor of Foxhall." This grant also included the "power to hold Court Leet and Court Baron; to appoint a steward to try causes arising between the vassals;" and granted "all waifs, estrays, felons' property, &c., to the lord with rights of advowson and patronage to such church as he may establish on the premises." Such a grant in England would have earned at least the title of Sir Knight Baronet to Capt. Chambers, and no one could have said that it was undeserved. This valuable grant was hereditary and though carefully guarded by a most intricate entail in the will of Capt. Chambers, the Manor has disappeared. It was at war with American institutions, and none of the lands, franchises or privileges can now be found in the heirs or descendants of the original grantee.

The County of Ulster as originally organized included all the intermediate settlement of consequence between New York and Albany on the west bank of the Hudson, and kept progress with the growth of the settlement on the Hudson during the century from the occupation by the English to the opening of the revolution in 1776. It had during that period greatly increased in consequence, and Kingston had become a settlement of great importance, ranking as the third in point of population in the colony. It was central, and had become the seat of government, where the Colonial Legislature had its sessions. John Jay, the leading lawyer of the colony, was glad to take retainers at the Kingston courts, and left his clients at New York to attend term at Kingston. By a resolution of the Provincial Convention, passed Dec. 21, 1773, the Ulster County jail became the jail of the colony. The Provincial Convention, contemplating its removal to Kingston, was informed by a report of its committee, on the 31st of January, 1776, that if it should move to Kingston, "fifty members may obtain good accommodations at the rate of twenty shillings a week," and that the Court House had a large room, suitable for the convention to meet in. The convention was in session of March 18, 1777, at Kingston, and on the 20th day of April, 1777, the first Constitution of the State of New York was adopted by this body. It was among the earliest of the written Constitutions adopted by the American States.

The six months following the adoption of this Constitution were made memorable to the people of Kingston. For substantially a century they had been under the dominion of the British Kings. They had paid their tithings without notable dissent. They had not even taken an active part in the immediate quarrel which brought about a rupture between the parent country and her colonies. The old ladies of Kingston had all the time taken their tea with a solid Dutch comfort, giving no great thought to the tax.

When the breach was made no State showed a bolder front than New York. The Provincial Congress, sitting at Kingston, in May, 1776, before the adoption of the Declaration of Independence, called a convention, and this convention, sitting in the Winter following, reaffirmed the Declaration of Independence, and in April, 1777, as we have stated, sitting again at Kingston, promulgated a Constitution of New York, as a State, independent of Great Britain.

These acts invited the fury of the British arms, and on the 16th day of October, 1777, General Vaughan landed a detachment of about one thousand and six hundred troops from Sir Henry Clinton's vessels of war in the Hudson, and burnt the town of Kingston. The act of the British General was dictated by resentment towards the place where the prominent acts of colonial independence had been put into form.

It did not result from the want of bravery of the people inhabiting the town. The able bodied men were mostly with the army near the Highlands. It was not the want of vigilance of the Commander-in-Chief; for he had detached a sufficient force to cover Kingston. But a favorable wind had carried the vessels of the enemy up the river more rapidly than the American troops could, even by a forced march, equal in speed, and the work of destruction was nearly completed when the advance guard of the Continental troops came in sight of their burning homes.

The loss of property was very great. The recently gathered harvests were in the barns, or gathered into stack, convenient for destruction, and at the approach of Winter the whole population was left without food and without shelter.

But it was not alone the loss of property. The people of

Kingston, proud to be the capital town of the new State, where the new Constitution was framed and where the new Legislature had just recently assembled, and where George Clinton, one of her citizens, had just been proclaimed Governor, had before them a good promise of becoming the political centre of the new State. Their local pride, as well as their property, was thus suddenly and completely destroyed. In the smoldering embers of their dwellings they looked upon the accumulated savings of a century and a half of industry and economy, and they saw there as well the destruction of a political power and influence that had been gathered and hoarded with equal care. The government which had been organized in their midst was scattered into the interior towns, and the records even of their prosperity had been dispersed into irresponsible hands.

During the century which has since elapsed the waste places have been restored; better buildings stand where former ones were burnt; the fields bear promise of another bountiful harvest; more than fifty persons could be comfortably kept at the hotels; a spacious room could conveniently accommodate the State conventions; but none of them could come back to Kingston to hold their sessions. The fires of the first revolution very seriously put back the progress of the settlement in the Esopus in her strife with her neighbors along the Hudson.

But the struggle has nevertheless been carried on with courage, with enterprise and with untiring labor. Ulster county has now become a great and wealthy community. With a population of a hundred thousand; with manufactures seeking every market of the whole nation, out of materials costing only the labor of her people; with railroads drawing trade from every direction—it stands today owning no superior in the struggle for political power and commercial wealth.

During the time this point has been in the slow progress of attainment, it cannot be said that the settlement in the Esopus was niggardly in its patriotism, or that it was behind in duty or sacrifice, when it was involved in war along with the other American settlements, or in the preservation of the Union of the States which it took so prominent a part in organizing.

In the Canadian invasion, in 1775, a full regiment, recruited in Ulster County, was present when the chivalrous and lamented

Montgomery fell in the unfortunate attack on Quebec. Ulster County contributed several regiments to the Continental army. They were under the direction of Governor George Clinton, the Commander-in-Chief of the State troops, and were actively employed from the beginning in the operations in Canada, in opposing Burgoyne at Saratoga and in guarding the river at West Point. In the war of 1812, or the Sailors' Rights War, as it was called, a regiment of troops was raised in Ulster County, which was the color regiment of a brigade stationed on Staten Island to cover New York and the fortifications at the Narrows. They had no actual engagement with the enemy, and at the close of the war resumed their former occupations without forgetting their services in the cause of the sailors.

The breaking out of the Southern Rebellion in April, 1861, found Ulster County peculiarly well situated to take part in the active operations of war, thrust suddenly on the government. The State was called upon for all its available militia, and the Ulster County regiment, then under the command of George W. Pratt, was enabled to march to the defence of Washington by the side of the regiments of the city of New York and was the only regiment of militia outside of New York City and Brooklyn, and the one fitted out under the eyes of the State officers of Albany, that was able to respond to the call of the government. It was composed of many of the best citizens of the county, and made a three months' campaign, very efficiently aiding in the early military operations about Washington. It furnished the nucleus of three regiments of volunteers from the county, afterward mustered into the service of the government, and which took part in many of the most important engagements, plentifully sprinkling the blood of Ulster County on the soil of many battle fields in Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia, and filling many households with grief for the loss of their most promising youth. The gallant Pratt fell an early victim, and his loss produced a profound grief in the county, where he was greatly respected as a young man of fine education, of manly purposes, and great intelligence and activity in the conducting of public matters.

The sacrifices of Ulster County were but commensurate with the volunteers who filled the regiments raised in the county. Three different drafts were ordered by the government, and made by the

Provost Marshals, appointed for the different Congressional districts. About one-third of the entire available militia force of the State was thus called into action.

In Ulster County a bounty was allowed out of the Treasury of the county equal to from three to eight hundred dollars per man, and an indebtedness of a little over two million dollars was thus incurred by the county, which had reached its height in the year 1864. It has been since reduced to the sum of about a million and a half dollars, and rests as a serious burden upon the prosperity of the people, to be paid, according to present legislation on the subject, from the taxes of the next eleven years.

The extraordinary burdens which have been thus imposed upon the resources of the people of the county have been carried only by intelligent industry and the most active enterprise of her citizens, in availing themselves of every avenue to prosperity and business profit, which furnishes no uninteresting topic in the history of the county.

One of the most important of the elements of growth and business prosperity had its origin in the construction of the Delaware and Hudson Canal, which was projected to transport anthracite coal from the Lackawanna region in Pennsylvania to the Hudson river. The selection of the mouth of the Rondout creek as the Hudson terminus has given rise to the employment of a great number of laborers and to a large trade, to which the village of Rondout has for many years owed its principal importance and port tonnage. The Canal Company was incorporated in 1823, with a capital of one million five hundred thousand dollars—fifty thousand dollars of which was authorized to be used for banking. The State loaned eight hundred thousand dollars to the company, and took a warm interest in the enterprise, and not without reason. The business of the company, from the completion of the canal in 1828, has been profitable, and the operations of the company have been very greatly extended. The State loan has been repaid with interest, the original capital increased, and the capacity of the canal enlarged, with an increased area of the company's coal lands. The capital has now reached twenty million dollars, and its bonded debt somewhat over twelve million dollars, as against an original cost of the work of \$1,424,994 for the New York portion of the line and \$612,423

for the Pennsylvania portion of the line. The coal shipped from the mines in 1829 was 7,000 tons; in 1873, 2,752,596 tons, and the profits in 1873 were \$2,013,507.96.

During the construction of the canal valuable cement quarries were found in the county, and its use and manufacture were commenced. It has since developed with wonderful rapidity into one of the most important and profitable industries of the State. The trade-mark "Rosendale Cement" is a passport to the confidence of the builder on the continent of Europe as well as in America.

Allied to the cement business, there has sprung up during later years an industry that has given employment and profits to a large number of people: quarrying and marketing flagging stone. Ulster County bluestone, used at first only to a limited extent, has now become the principal material in the construction of sidewalks in the cities of the United States and at some foreign points. The trade has become a very important one among the industries of the county. The City of Kingston, otherwise neglectful of her streets, from the vicinity of the bluestone deposits has become justly celebrated for her excellent sidewalks.

Leather manufacturing, once an important business in the county, has almost entirely disappeared. The hemlock bark used in the business of tanning has been nearly all consumed, and this branch of industry, once so important in the county, has been substantially abandoned.

It is now a fact worthy of mention that great business prosperity in the county has resulted in late years mainly from connection with the canal trade, the business in cement, or Ulster County bluestone.

The industries which we have named have not resulted in injury to agricultural pursuits, but rather in their favor, by furnishing a market within the county for the farm products; and nowhere has land ranked higher as to price per acre for purely farm purposes, or the labor of the husbandman been better rewarded. The bottom lands of the valleys of the Esopus, Rondout and Wallkill streams are occupied by a numerous population, living in comfortable homes, with substantial farm buildings, and with funds laid aside, in the stocks of the Canal Company or bonds of the county,

capable of furnishing a start in life to the son, or a comfortable dot to the daughter, when they arrive at a marriageable age.

The mountainous regions of the county have not been neglected, but have been called upon to aid in the march of progress. The tourist has been invited to breathe the pure air along the cool and clear waters of the Shandaken mountains and to view the extensive and varied prospect from Lake Mohonk and Minnewaska, and thousands of city people escape the heat of Summer in the commodious hotels constructed for their accommodation in the mountain regions of Ulster County.

In 1865 there was not a single yard of railroad constructed or in use in Ulster County. For over thirty years this mode of travel had been successfully introduced into the country, and other localities had grown up with a business based upon the facility and speed of railroad travel and transportation; but Ulster, thus far, had not been able to command the capital to make use of railroads in holding and augmenting its trade.

In the year referred to an incorporation was formed, with power to construct a horse railroad between the two villages of Kingston and Rondout, and its completion was witnessed with great satisfaction by the people. During the next year the Legislature passed a law authorizing the counties of Ulster, Delaware, Greene and Schoharie to issue bonds to construct the Rondout and Oswego Railroad, and in the following year certain towns in Ulster County were authorized to issue bonds for the Wallkill Valley Railway. The first project was to give a railroad connection with Lake Ontario, on the north, and the lines of travel to the West; and the second to give a railroad line to New York City on the west bank of the Hudson.

The plan of construction adopted met with an active opposition from many citizens, and was conceded to be objectionable in principle and likely to be onerous to the people, who were to assume the debt. But the longing of the people for this improved means of travel, and to be placed in a thoroughfare of business, overcame all objection, and the towns assumed the burden. The town of Kingston issued its bonds to the amount of six hundred thousand dollars for the Rondout and Oswego Railroad, and two hundred thousand dollars for the Wallkill Valley Railway. Other towns along the line assumed a proportionate

burden, and the projects thus undertaken have been substantially realized, to the great benefit of the county in point of commercial consequence, but yet with a debt resulting that is severely felt in the annual tax levy.

In estimating the benefits of the railroads built in this way, it is proper to consider, not only the business gained by them, but also that which would have been lost without them. Other lines of railroads had already commenced to draw away the trade from Kingston to other channels, and would more and more have trenchéd upon the importance of this locality. This now has ceased. The trade diverted to the Albany & Susquehanna and the Midland Railroads has been brought back. It is a great pride the people of Ulster feel in their enterprise that it has been carried through while they were able to protect themselves from the encroachment of other localities, and that it was not left until their business life had been sapped away, and their streets deserted entirely by their old customers, and their strength, like that of Samson, shorn away while they slept.

The railroad system of Ulster County will be yet incomplete until Kingston reclaims the trade of the town of Wawarsing and Sullivan County, once allied to it by the shortest distance and most practicable route of travel. A projection of the line of railroad on the west bank of the Hudson will also greatly benefit the locality, and will thus bring back commercially into one centre all the territory which originally belonged to Ulster County, but which has been from various causes disintegrated from its territorial consequence into new counties. This process of disintegration was still going on, and seemed likely to take away the Southern tier of towns into a new county to be called Highland, until the construction of the Wallkill Valley Railway silenced discontent, and changed the feelings of these towns into close friendship for the future progress of Old Ulster.

The City of Kingston is the most recent event of the history of Ulster. It has its origin within the last decade. Its charter bears date the 26th day of March, 1872. It is the twentieth city in order of date of charter, but ranks as the ninth in point of population, and the fifth in business consequence in the State of New York. It comprises within its limits the two former villages of Kingston and Rondout, which had grown up side by side

until their adjacent bounds coincided. Intimately as these villages were allied by business associations, they were yet rivals in feeling and jealous of each other's progress. Their union into a city was a difficult subject of negotiation, lasting through three sessions of the State Legislature. A compromise was finally made, yielding the name to Kingston, but giving the political ascendancy to Rondout. A city government had, to a certain extent, become a necessity. A uniform plan of projection of streets between the two places and a uniform administration of the government made it desirable; but the abuses growing out of the poor monies of the town furnished the most controlling arguments which operated in favor of the City Charter. Opposed to them were the fears of an extravagant appropriation for city buildings. This last objection was quieted by a promise that no building to be used as a City Hall should be constructed within ten years. This pledge, exacted on behalf of Village of Kingston, was not incorporated in the charter. The contracting parties were two easily satisfied by a verbal pledge, which no one was made responsible for. The pledge was not kept. A new City Hall has been built, as has also a new Alms House, both creditable structures, ornaments of the city, and evidence of an open hand to the unfortunate and the poor. They are better adapted in size to a city of greater growth; but it may not have been unwise to provide for a greatly increased population in the near future. The past progress of the city has demonstrated that unless some unexpected cause check increase, it will shortly have doubled its present population.

The location of the City Hall between the business centres of the two old villages, upon ground heretofore unoccupied by population, was objectionable to many for its inconvenience. In its favor it is claimed that a new population will soon fill in the territory surrounding the City Hall, and that it is centrally located, without partiality to the two rival places. These expensive structures produced a city debt of about one hundred thousand dollars, and added to the other public burdens; but it is answered that the city owns the property, and that it is a debt standing on a better basis than that of some neighboring cities, whose liabilities do not seem to rest on any substantial value received. It may indeed be said with some pride that the

city has two large buildings without notable waste in their construction, adapted to the wants of the people for many years.

Two distinguished military chieftains have been, during the last century, the guests of Ulster County—Washington, in 1777, and General Grant, in 1874. It is not inappropriate in the annals of the county to commemorate the two events. Circumstances have transpired to raise the two men, in the military history of the country, to a position of commanding prominence. In some respects their characters bear comparison. Each has had the command of the armies of the country when the national existence was at stake, and retained, during the whole arduous struggle, the confidence of the government and of the people, which was not weakened by disaster or defeat. Each has been twice honored with an election to the chief executive office of the nation, and each at the close of the second term has preferred to lay aside the honors and difficulties of official life to become again a private citizen of his country. Little given to speaking, both have exhibited in official positions good sense and judgment and fitness of language in their public writings that is not necessarily taught in the school of the soldier.

Washington has passed into history with the title of Father of his Country. Gen. Grant will step down and out from his high office essentially the most distinguished man of his time as a successful military chieftain, and surrounded by a powerful band of adherents, attached to him by the vigor of his personal abilities and the strength of his administration of the government during two Presidential terms.

The visit of Washington was unheralded, and attended with no preparation. Ulster County had raised four regiments for the Continental Army, and its chieftain was simply inspecting the efficiency of the force and its power to take a part in the approaching struggle. The best citizens opened to him their houses.

There is a house now standing, in the village of Stone Ridge, in the town of Marbletown, built in 1771. It is a solid building of stone masonry, of ample size for a country gentleman with a large landed estate. It is finished with more elaborate work of the joiner than buildings usually were in that day. The fireplaces are ornamented with imported Dutch tile, illustrating the

Old and New Testament Scriptures. It has come down from a former century, yet preserved in the peculiar architecture of the day of its building, and attracts the attention of all strangers visiting the vicinity as a well preserved relic of the past. But the room in which Washington slept is pointed out as the most attractive matter of interest to the American citizen who knows his country's history and has reverence for her great names.

The Overlook Mountain House, which has just passed into history by the accident of fire, occupied the highest point of the Catskill mountains, in plain sight of that immense concourse who travel the Hudson river by steamboat, as it offered from its doorway a panorama of Ulster County for its entire original extent. It was a noted point for all sight-seers of the world. But it was no little addition to its renown that there for a brief period had been the sojourn of Gen. Grant.

There would be little use of history did it not teach lessons for the future. The two hundred and fifty years which have elapsed since the settlement in the Esopus are only the beginnings of this prosperous and happy people. The second century from the commencement of their history as an independent nation opens with profound peace, and has the promise of great achievements and profuse blessings.

CONGRESSIONAL SPEECHES.

BY WILLIAM LOUNSBERRY.

1879.

ARMY APPROPRIATION BILL.

April 2, 1879.

MR. SPARKS. I now move that the House resolve itself into Committee of the Whole to proceed with the consideration of the Army appropriation bill.

The motion was agreed to.

MR. TOWNSEND, of Illinois. I have yielded the remainder of my time to the gentleman from New York, [Mr. Lounsberry.]

MR. LOUNSBERRY. Mr. Chairman, the great effort of the opposition has been to avoid the merits of the pending bill. An ingenious criticism of the method of adopting the repeal of the objectionable clause in the present law has been made. A labored research has brought to light facts upon which to indict a section of the country. The bloody shirt and the hate which antedated the war and which is yet so much the pabulum of partisan debate have been, as it seems to me, made too prominent in the discussion. The phantom of a presidential veto has also been held up to alarm the timid. All these considerations are foreign from the issue. They can have no legitimate place in the discussion.

The method is a mere question of practice, which is always subject to conditions, and must yield to principles which are vital and enduring. The question of a veto is a subject which belongs to an independent branch of the Government, and it should not influence our action here. It carries with it grave responsibility.

ties, which are to be managed not in a spirit of partisanship, but with intelligence, patriotism and moderation. The issues which antedated the war and the spirit of hate and recrimination which were a part of it, should now be relegated to the period to which they belong in history. The present subject should be considered from the standpoint of completed pacification in all States now constituting our country.

What evils, let me ask my republican friends on the other side of the House, are likely to result from the repeal? Let us have the whole catalogue of ills.

The gentleman from Maine regrets the departure from this House of the colored men that once occupied seats on his side as Representatives of Southern States. The "solid South" is an evil that has come upon you during the operation of the law, and it is not the result of repeal. Speeches in this House of the sectional character of that of the gentleman from Maine are well calculated to confine republican successes to a small part of the country.

Mr. Chairman, it is not unfrequent in my district that the peace is broken at an election poll. Within the present month this happened at a poll next adjoining the city in which I live, and blood was shed. The feeling as to local matters in the town were in that condition of intense excitement that sagacious men for a week beforehand predicted the event. Yet I think I can safely say that none of the parties interested in that election would have deemed it else than a public outrage had Federal troops been called in to prevent or suppress the disturbance. It is a fact, I believe, that there has not been present in my district, either before or since the enactment of the law as it now stands, a single armed soldier of the Federal Army to prevent or suppress disturbance, and I think I can say for myself and for each of my colleagues from the State of New York on either side of this House, that if it were now an original question, disconnected from party exigency we would find no call for the adoption of a law as applicable to our State, providing for the use of the Federal Army to keep the peace at election polls.

In assuming this I lay out of the question all notion of State rights. I will not rest upon any sentiment of State pride that we are able to police and regulate our own sovereign domain.

But I put the question upon the menace that by common consent is to be implied from the use of armed troops at the polls—a feeling not common to this country, but which we take from our English ancestors as well.

Let me quote on this subject from the first volume of Blackstone's *Commentaries*, page 178:

"And as it is essential to the very being of Parliament that elections should be absolutely free, therefore all undue influences upon the electors are illegal and strongly prohibited. * * * As soon, therefore, as the time and place of election, either in counties or boroughs are fixed, all soldiers quartered in the place are to remove at least one day before the election to the distance of two miles or more; and not to return till one day after the election is ended."

This idea is fully realized by elementary writers in this country. McCrary, in his *American Law of Elections*, at section 418, says:

"There can, however, be no doubt but that the law looks with great disfavor upon anything like an interference by the military with the freedom of an election. An armed force in the neighborhood of the polls is almost of necessity a menace to the voters and an interference with their freedom and independence, and if such armed force be in the hands of or under the control of the partisan friends of any particular candidate, the probability of improper influence becomes still stronger."

He then quotes the case of *Giddings vs. Clark*, a contested case in the Forty-second Congress:

"On the day of election the town where the election was held was occupied by an armed force under command of one Captain Richardson. Pickets were stationed on all the roads leading into the town, and persons coming in to vote were obliged to obtain a pass from the military authorities. Although the witnesses say that all voters were permitted to come and go in peace, and that the freedmen were urged to vote, yet it is clear that they abstained from doing so for reasons which most men consider good and sufficient.

"The committee of the House reported the opinion that this

was not a free and fair election, and that it was no answer to say that the military were stationed around the polls to preserve the peace and to secure freedom to all voters."

McCravy cites this English case:

"As early as 1741 an attempt was made to interfere with an election held for the city of Westminster, by stationing a body of armed soldiers near the polls. On this being shown to the House of Commons, it was by that body resolved that the presence of a regular body of armed soldiers at an election of members to serve in Parliament is a high infringement of the liberties of the subject, a manifest violation of the freedom of elections, and an open defiance of the laws and constitution of this kingdom."

I am aware that there has lately been a political crisis in France. It was demanded of President McMahon that he should remove the commanding general of the army to be replaced by one whose political views conformed to the advanced republicanism of the National Assembly. McMahon was unwilling to yield to such demand and resigned his office. I may be permitted to express a doubt as to the solid hold of the now prevailing party upon the free will of the French people if their power is depending upon the favor of the army; and addressing myself to the other side of this House, I would ask if their anxiety upon this question is not imported from the situation in France? The gentleman from Ohio who opened the debate on that side (and is followed in the same style by others) has uttered the most gloomy predictions of the future to this country from the adoption of the amendment now pending in the committee.

It is styled a revolutionary measure. It will starve out the life of the country, it is said. It is the picture of our ship of state drifting upon breakers and to sure destruction:

"Then shrieked the timid, and stood still the brave."

This unbroken howl of despair which comes up from the other side, is but the utterance of the idea of the French Assembly. They must have the Army at the polls. Party needs are such that they cannot part with coercion. They call upon the executive branch of the Government to intervene to save the last remnant of departing power.

The violent opposition on this floor to the repeal of the ob-

jectionable words of the law as it now stands, as now exhibited, is a danger and menace from which it is not too soon to secure the country.

Mr. Chairman, I am indulging for myself no such gloomy expectations as are foreshadowed by the opposition. I am not expecting, as I have no interest in urging, a veto of the pending bill. I may safely advance a compliment to the intelligence of the Executive. There can be made no constitutional objection to the bill. The right of Congress to regulate the use of the Army is clearly expressed in the Constitution. The right was exercised without question upon the passage of the law in 1865, upon which this amendment is to be ingrafted.

He can find no difficulty with the question as a measure of policy. If he be not governed by the precedents to which I have referred, why should he not heed the Congressional majority, lately from the people, whose will it was chosen to represent? If he yield to the claims of the situation as presented to him by his party friends and use his power to retain for party use this element of coercion, this menace to free election, the people will assent that will which is the supreme law in a popular government; will assert it not by revolutionary or irregular methods, but by that decisive volume of expression at the polls which will render coercion and fraudulent counting entirely out of the question to change or modify the result.

What the people demand of this Congress and of each branch of this Government is the right to express their wishes in an election freely and without coercion, "unbribed by favor and unawed by power."

GOLD AND SILVER CERTIFICATES.

May 17, 1879,

MR. LOUNSBERRY submitted the following amendment, which was ordered to be printed in the Record:

"Strike out the eighth section of the bill, which, with the amendments reported by the Committee on Coinage, Weights and Measures, is as follows:

"See. 8. That section 254 of the Revised Statutes of the United States be amended so as to read as follows:

"Sec. 254. The Secretary of the Treasury is authorized and required to receive deposits of gold or silver coin and gold or silver bullion, with the Treasurer or any assistant treasurer of the United States, in sums not less than \$20, and to issue certificates therefor, in denominations of not less than \$5 each, corresponding with the denominations of the United States notes. The coin and bullion deposited for or representing the certificates of deposit shall be retained in the Treasury for the payment of the same on demand. And certificates representing coin in the Treasury may be issued in payment of interest on the public debt, which certificates, together with those issued for coin and bullion deposited, shall not at any time exceed 20 per cent. beyond the amount of coin and bullion in the Treasury; and the certificates for coin and bullion in the Treasury shall be received at par in payment for all dues to the United States, including duties on imports, and may be computed as part of the lawful money-reserve of national banks."

MR. LOUNSBERRY. Mr. Speaker, I must necessarily oppose the amendment of the gentleman from Illinois, [Mr. Springer.] Though less objectionable in degree, it contains the same element of evil as section 8 of the bill, as to which I have submitted an amendment to strike out the whole section. Section 8 authorizes the issuing by the Treasury of gold and silver certificates. The amendment pending also provides for like certificates. In that respect it is not germane to the question of coinage. It is a part of a financial or credit scheme. It belongs to a class of measures adopted during the war period as expedients to raise money on credit.

We have passed the period for such expedients. An era of peace now lasting more than ten years should introduce us to a different class of laws. Doubtful expedients are at times prudential measures; but that applies to desperate situations. It does not apply to the present situation of our Government, which is now in such excellent credit at home and abroad that ordinary bonds are in very great demand. There is no reason now that the public debt should be so variegated in kind and color as the needs of the war required.

I have examined the pedigree of the eighth section. It is section 254 of the Revised Statutes with the word silver interpolated so as to put silver bullion and coin certificates in the same situation as gold. Section 254 of the Revised Statutes is section 5 of the act of March 3, 1863, entitled "An act to provide ways and means for the support of the Government." That act provided for an issue of bonds, Treasury notes, certificates of indebtedness, and for issuing one hundred and fifty millions in United States notes to pay the Army. It levied a duty on bank circulation and deposits. It was a war measure and can furnish no precedent for these times of peace. It is thought by some that the section referred to was modeled after a provision in the minting act which provides for a certificate for bullion deposits at the Mint. It is true that these certificates were transferable, and were in fact used as exchange in trade. But they were not Government certificates. They were only receipts for bullion to be paid in specific bullion or coin from the Mint. (See act February 12, 1873, section 4.)

I am informed that section 254, which provides for gold certificates, has not been in use since the war period, and the gold coinage has been carried on under the minting laws as they were revised in 1873.

The fifth section in the law of 1863 was adopted to get out more paper based on the gold that came into the Treasury. It was an expedient to raise money. It could have no other purpose. It is not needed now when the Government has a plethora of available funds without such expedient. At this time our national finances are not in embarrassment. The Government has resumed specie payments. A new suspension can only happen by incurring extraordinary expenses or by the creation of a demand indebtedness, which may be called unexpectedly and in large amounts. These certificates would constitute such a danger.

Our trade with foreign countries is now in healthy condition. We have a balance of trade from the most healthy possible source. Our agricultural productions form the source which may be naturally expected in this country to be large when in healthy operation.

Mr. Speaker, I do not belong to either party urging or antagonizing silver coinage. I do not believe that the prosperity of

the people depends upon a bimetallic system, nor do I believe that the fabric of the public credit will fall into helpless collapse, unless we adhere to a monometallic standard. In considering the question of a circulating medium—

Medio tutissimum ibis,

or a position somewhere between the two extreme theories may be at this time the safest.

*Altius egressus coelestia teeta cremabis
Inferius terras.*

The people are not discontented, as has been said. There are eases of suffering from a temporarily deranged condition of manufactures. But there is no want among tillers of the soil except such as may result from ill-health, shiftlessness, or extravagance, or the incubus of the war debts. We cannot legislate away these ills. The people are naturally contented during democratic rule. Popular liberty is the great boon we are bound to keep secure to the people, and while this is guarded they may be trusted to work out the problems of bread-winning and property acquisition and business thrift.

There may be a lurking danger in the bill, as to which its friends have not been able to put my mind at rest. Silver is now very cheap. No one can safely say how the future price will be. It depends upon the amount of silver existing and being produced. Writers differ very largely in estimating both factors in the computation. While it is unknown, even to an approximate extent, how much gold and silver is stored in the commercial world, all action based upon such computation must be dangerous for its uncertainty.

We must not legislate against the interests of the Government. It belongs to the whole people, and if by our action the people suffer a loss, they will and should hold us responsible, because it must be borne by the people. It cannot be shifted off their shoulders upon the President or the Cabinet or the individual members of Congress. The blame may be placed there, but the burden of the loss must be borne by the people, who constitute the Government and create and own its resources. The Government is now buying cheap silver; perhaps it was never cheaper as a commodity. The coin resulting from these purchases is

very likely to remain worth its cost under all the contingencies that may happen.

If the silver stored in this country and among foreign nations and the productions of the mines are to be dumped bodily into the Government vaults, at par of the Government standard, I am not prepared to say that the people will not suffer heavy loss by the depreciation on so large a stock. But I am not discussing that subject. I am deprecating the effect of the eighth section. It makes the Government Treasury a huge bank of issue upon the basis of its coin. This coin should be held religiously, honestly, as security for the redemption of the United States notes now in circulation. It is only so we can maintain resumption. It is unwise—I think it criminal—to destroy the coin reserve as a trust fund to the holders of the Government paper money by creating a new liability in the form of certificates for which it is pledged.

Rome from its founding by Romulus for five hundred years, if history is any guide, delivered no battle to its enemies and undertook no great matter of public administration unless the augurs were first consulted. The general did not engage his troops nor the statesman frame a declaration of war unless he was guided by the flight of birds or the viscera of the sacrifices. It is well to believe as we read such history, in the light of the continued growth of the nation, that the priests who examined the auspices were themselves the most learned of the patrician order. They must have known the facts existing and the situation of the hostile forces. It is necessary to believe that the wisdom of the priests did much to enlighten the interpretation of the manifestation of the gods in which these peoples put their faith. I would not have the ministers at this altar of the people act less wisely in the interpretation of the auguries. It may not be wise to embark in the experiment of this measure, unless we can first know the factors and strength of the forces upon which success or failure is to depend. It is certainly unwise to give, as we will by enacting the eighth section of this bill, a large addition to the power now held by the Treasury to do a banking business upon the coin reserve intended to be held as a deposit against the United States notes now outstanding.

TRADE DOLLARS.

June 18, 1879.

Mr. LOUNSBERRY. I send to the Clerk's desk a motion reduced to writing, which I shall ask to be considered by the House at the proper time.

The Clerk read as follows:

"Ordered, That the bill be referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency."

Mr. LOUNSBERRY. Mr. Speaker, I have discovered upon an examination of this question that there are difficulties attending the subject which cannot be reached by an amendment of the bill. I therefore propose to submit the motion which has been read by the clerk. That motion is not prompted by any disrespect for the Committee on Coinage, Weights and Measures, or any want of confidence in that committee, from which my distinguished friend, its chairman, has reported this bill. In order to present my point distinctly, I will ask the Clerk to read a portion of section 3520 of the Revised Statutes.

The Clerk read as follows:

"Any owner of silver bullion may deposit the same at any mint, to be formed into bars or into dollars of the weight of 420 grains troy, designated in this title as trade-dollars."

Mr. LOUNSBERRY. That provision is from the statute of 1873, which authorized the unlimited coinage of bullion into these trade-dollars. I now ask the Clerk to read section 2 of a joint resolution of July 22, 1876.

The Clerk read as follows:

"Sec. 2. That the trade-dollar shall not hereafter be a legal tender; and the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized to limit from time to time the coinage thereof to such an amount as he may deem sufficient to meet the export demand of the same."

Mr. LOUNSBERRY. I call attention to the fact that though Congress in 1873 provided for an unlimited coinage of trade-dollars, it subsequently, by joint resolution of July 22, 1876, gave the Secretary of the Treasury power to limit the coinage of these trade-dollars to the actual demands of commerce.

Now, in connection with these two provisions of law, look at

the amount to which these dollars have been coined within the last few years. In 1876, the year in which this limitation on the part of the Secretary of the Treasury was authorized, there were coined 6,132,050 of these trade-dollars; in 1877, 9,162,900, and in 1878, 11,378,010. It will be observed that from the time that the Secretary of the Treasury was authorized by a joint resolution of Congress to limit the coinage of these dollars there has been a rapid increase in the amount of this coinage. Though he was authorized to limit this description of coinage so as merely to meet the demands of commerce, we find that during the last year he authorized the coinage of \$11,000,000 of this currency. Yet we are told in this debate, and I believe the fact is reported by the Director of the Mint, that there are only between six and seven millions of these trade-dollars now in this country. Now, if the demands of commerce are absorbing this coinage so rapidly that, although during the last year eleven million trade-dollars were coined, only \$6,000,000 of this currency is now left in the country, why is it necessary at this time, at the end of this extra session, to interfere with this coinage?

Mr. FISHER. Will the gentleman allow me a single remark? As I stated, the object of this bill is simply to gather in the few millions of trade-dollars scattered through this country. Can the gentleman indicate any way by which this form of currency can go to China except by the bill as I propose to amend it?

Mr. LOUNSBERRY. I am not speaking on that subject. It will be observed that the last clause of the bill reported by the committee proposes to give to the Secretary of the Treasury the power to stop the further coinage of the trade-dollar. Why should we in this way restrict the power of the Secretary of the Treasury, when by the joint resolution of 1876 he was authorized to limit the coinage to the demands of trade? Why now deprive him of that authority?

From the bill there can be inferred only one of two propositions: either it is intended to authorize an unlimited coinage of the standard dollar, or else it is intended to deprive the Secretary of the Treasury of the option which he now has to allow the coinage of the trade-dollar to the extent justified by the demands of commerce. Putting either construction upon the bill, I am opposed to it.

Mr. WARNER. Is the Secretary of the Treasury causing any of the trade-dollars to be coined now?

Mr. LOUNSBERY. I assume that under the joint resolution of July 22, 1876, he is coining sufficient to meet the demands of commerce.

Mr. WARNER. The gentleman will allow me to call his attention to an extract from a recent interview of the Secretary of the Treasury with the Committee on Coinage, Weights and Measures:

"Question. Is there any longer any object in coining that piece at all for private parties?

"The Secretary. No, sir; and I should refuse to do it now if such an application were made."

Mr. LOUNSBERY. The answer which the Secretary there makes does not change the situation which he occupies under the joint resolution of 1876. By that enactment he is authorized to permit the coinage so far as to meet the demands of commerce. Now, what objection has the committee to our manufacturing these coins to be used in China? I understood the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Warner] to say that there has been and is a constant, a continual demand for coins of this kind, to be used in China, where they are clipped and marked for the purposes of trade, and are used according to their bullion value.

Mr. WARNER. Is it necessary to coin silver pieces of 420 grains in order that they may be divided and melted up in China? Will not pieces of 412½ grains do just as well?

Mr. LOUNSBERY. I am not arguing as to the necessity for creating such a coin. I am simply saying that this difficulty which we now meet in connection with our currency cannot properly be obviated in the manner proposed in this bill. And, Mr. Speaker, I now come to the particular point which I have made under my motion. The design of this coin undoubtedly came originally from the Committee on Coinage, Weights and Measures, and it was a proper function of that committee; but after it had passed into circulation, and became a part of the currency of the country, if it were of any use here, then from that time forth it seems to me this subject no longer belonged legitimately to the Committee on Coinage, Weights and Measures, but was a proper subject to be considered by the Committee

on Banking and Currenny. And I very much regret the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Fort,] who introduced his bill and who was a member of the Committee on Banking and Currency, should not have seen that it was sent to that committee.

I admit, sir, this trade-dollar now forms an embarrassment in our currency. I have in my district bank officers who tell me it was in their way, embarrassing their operations and loading their counters; and if there be a hidden meaning in this bill by which there shall be unlimited coinage and exchange of trade-dollars so as to result in the unlimited issue of standard dollars, then I am satisfied no bank officer in my district would ask me to support it.

BANK RESERVES.

January 21, 1880.

THE SPEAKER. The morning hour begins at 11 minutes past one o'clock p. m.; and the House now resumes the consideration of the bill (H. R. No. 2715) requiring the reserves of national banks to be kept in gold and silver coins of the United States, reported from the Committee on Banking and Currency by the gentleman from Missouri, [Mr. Buekner.] The gentleman from New York, [Mr. Lounsbury] is entitled to the floor.

MR. LOUNSBURY. Mr. Speaker, the bill under consideration may be briefly formulated as a semi-statutory resumption by the banks. It is unobjectionable in principle, if it be not an objection always to act by half measures. I myself would have preferred that the bill should have provided for the entire reserve of the banks to be held in coin, thus making an entire resumption by the banks.

It is about one year since by statute the Federal Government resumed. It is high time that the banks resumed. It is time that the individuals resumed, paying debt in value instead of paying debt in promises. The bill, to me, does not seem to be especially operative or effectual. The banks in my city today are paying gold and silver coin, not only in the payment of their debts to depositors, but to persons who apply for loans, if they voluntarily take coin instead of paper. While this bill, there-

fore, at the time it was first introduced at the extra session, might have been operative and effectual, it can no longer be so, because by the practice of the banks at this time they are paying, when the creditor will voluntarily receive it, in gold and silver coin.

I propose to address myself for a few moments to the history of resumption. I have heard much credit taken by the present Administration, by the present managers of the Government finances, for bringing about resumption. In my opinion resumption was not caused by financial management nor by administrative tact, but it came about by mightier causes. Webster, in his remarkable expression of eulogy to Hamilton, said: "He smote the rock of the national resources and abundant streams gushed forth; he touched the dead corpse of the public credit and it sprung upon its feet." I understand that the friends of the Administration have endeavored to appropriate the same language and apply it to the present head of our national finances. It is no pleasant task to be an iconoclast, and yet I esteem it a duty to break these gods set up for the people to worship. It was neither Hamilton nor Sherman that brought about prosperity and resumption to the Republic, either in the days of Hamilton or in the days of our present Secretary of the Treasury. The country has been moved by more potent causes, by causes more powerful than the lamp of Aladdin or the purse of Fortunatus. A changed condition of national affairs brought about resumption; not only the ability to resume, but resumption itself. The luxury of the people bred during the war period on the high prices of that day was changed for simple habits during depression. The importation of foreign goods into this country was thus checked, and the result was one powerful cause looking to better times.

We can all remember the time when the opposing armies swept down and back through the Shenandoah Valley with the ebb and flow of military success. The growing fruits and grain crops were not only destroyed but the accumulations of wealth. The armies then engaged in destruction are now producing values. The people who were then engaged in tearing down the earnings of years have for the past fifteen years engaged in restoring waste-places and in aiding to resume.

My own State of New York has now just terminated five years of democratic rule. In that time there has been a stay of corruption in office, a return to good government, and an honest administration of the public works. The prisons, which by wasteful management had become an incubus upon the prosperity of the State, have been made to produce an income equal to their expenses. The rate of taxation has been decreased even while administrative wisdom has been wiping out the State debt. I can hold up the State of New York as an admirable exhibition of the fruits of good government. Freedom from debt, with State taxes one-half of what they were five years ago, makes one of the great causes leading to resumption and enabling the country to maintain it. But yet, considering these facts, I hear my republican friends speaking to themselves and to others in the phrase which was spoken to the apple—"How we apples swim"—without knowing that it is this powerful current of causes which has produced resumption and enabled us to maintain it, instead of administrative ability, as they make the claim.

Mr. Speaker, I desire now that the Clerk shall read the bill which I shall offer as a substitute, if a proper occasion is presented, to the pending bill. I have stated that the failure of the present bill is that it is a half measure of resumption.

The one I now propose to have read in its stead I think is a bill which covers the entire case—a bill that is entirely effectual and complete in the line of resumption, not only for the banks but for individuals as well.

The Clerk read as follows:

[Forty-sixth Congress, first session.]

H. R. No. 1423.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

May 5, 1879.

Read twice, referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency, and ordered to be printed.

Mr. Lounsbury, on leave, offered the following bill:

A BILL

To repeal sections 3588, 3589 and 3590 of the Revised Statutes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That sec-

tions 3588, 3589 and 3590 of the Revised Statutes, making United States notes and Treasury notes a legal tender, are hereby repealed.

Mr. LOUNSBERY. The purpose of this bill is to repeal the three sections of the Revised Statutes as they now stand making United States notes and Treasury notes a legal tender for debt.

The bill under consideration, as it now stands, is harmless in its language and form because it is drawn as an amendment to a statute which was repealed in 1873 by the enactment of the Revised Statutes. The bill which I offer as a substitute will bring about the entire and complete purposes of the pending bill and take away what I claim to be objectionable features of the Revised Statutes as they now stand. If we repeal the legal-tender feature of the Revised Statutes we return to the constitutional money which existed before the war.

A democratic governor of the State of New York recommended in his message that the State should not depart from constitutional money and that the interest on the State bonds should be paid in coin, notwithstanding the coin premium. He thus recognized the obligation of the debt which was created by the text of the bonds. He recognized the fact that when the State borrowed the money of the people it promised to pay in a money that had an actual and intrinsic value. He asserted the doctrine that there was no law which could be passed by Congress or by any other power that could relieve the State of New York from its obligation to pay its debt with value instead of paying it in promises.

During the entire history of the controversy whether the United States notes were a constitutional money or not, the democratic party in the State of New York, and I believe the democratic party in national convention, have always adhered to the theory that there was no power in the Constitution to declare a promise money; that that clause in the Constitution which authorized Congress to coin money only gave the power to coin the precious metals into money and not to coin a material of no value into a promise which should pass compulsorily as money. That presents the constitutional question in this case.

Let me next refer to the subject as a question of policy. We are now in a period of unexampled prosperity. It is doubtful whether any one of us can remember a time when all the elements that make a nation great existed in a more marked degree than now. There has been and there will be a periodic rise and decline in the prosperity of the nation. These periods of ebb and flow, of prosperity and adversity, in business and in finance seem to come with some degree of regularity. We are now upon the flood-tide of financial success. Immense crops of grain are being produced in this country, which have a market in Europe, and the bonds, which did not have a permanent holding there, having been sent back to this country and taken up by our own people, the precious metals are flowing steadily from the foreign banks and depositories to the shores of America; so that our Treasury is not only full, some think incumbered with coin, but the banks and the people, the members of Congress even who go to the office of the Sergeant-at-Arms, are frequently incumbered by coin. When the precious metals are in such abundance, why should we insist upon debasing our national credit at home and abroad by maintaining a promise as a compulsory payment for debt? I, with others, protested against the decision of the Supreme Court which declared the power of Congress to make a promise a legal tender; and I vowed to myself, and I stand here now in obedience to that vow, that the first opportunity that ever came, if I had the power, I would insist upon reversing that decision and restoring the country again to a normal and honest constitutional condition, recognizing only coined metal, its value recognized in the family of nations as the money of the country and as the only compulsory material in which debt shall be paid.

There is another point connected with this question of policy. We are now in resumption, so far as the Federal Government is concerned. If that resumption is to be menaced by any future disturbance, it must come from the promises which the Government has made. The present outstanding three hundred and forty-six millions of paper promises issued by the Government must always, in disordered times, afford a menace to maintaining resumption. Is there economy in keeping out this paper and in keeping behind it a sufficient body of coin always ready to be

able to pay the Government demand notes upon presentation? I can see no financial wisdom in any such policy as that. We are now, as I said, in prosperity. It has come upon us suddenly. During the last session there came up from all parts of this Hall the representative cry of the people for relief. And now there comes up just as strenuous a cry from all parts of this Hall—the representative cry of the people to be let alone. So during the life of this Congress, yet but half its days spent, we have passed from a cry of distress and depression among the people to a cry of satisfaction and prosperity. But how soon may come again, in the turning of the wheel of fortune, the cry of distress, and we be thrown suddenly upon a financial collapse? I ask gentlemen here, whether it is not time that we prepare the Government for that situation? Is it not time, and high time, while we are in a position to do it, that we should prepare the Government by taking away this danger, so that resumption now achieved shall not be by a new turn of the wheel of fortune destroyed?

Mr. Speaker, the resumption of specie payment in this country has produced a financial condition unexpected by its adversaries as it was unexpected to many of the friends of the measure at the time when the subject was under consideration. The amount of gold and silver coin and gold and silver bullion, always a matter of calculation, very difficult to arrive at even as an approximate result, by the operations of resumption changed from being a commodity and became a part of the currency. Instead of being a part of the purchasable property of the country it was added to the purchasing or currency element. It thus by a double action operated to produce money inflation.

This result should not have been unexpected to the student of British history. From 1793 to 1813 the Bank of England was under suspension. In 1810 the bank undertook to resume payment in gold and silver for its bills. It commenced on an appointed morning, an act which the entire government and the financial people of the British Empire watched with great interest. There was an excited run on the bank for coin. Coin had at that time dropped in premium until it had reached about 2 per cent. Gentlemen here can draw a picture for themselves

of that crowd of people attending the bank on the appointed morning.

In the presence of this clamoring crowd the officers of the bank caused gold coin to be wheeled into the bank in barrows in the presence of the people. For three days the run continued and on the evening of the third day the clamor for gold had subsided, and the bank opened on the next morning with a flow of coin into the bank on deposit. Specie payment was thus resumed.

And now mark the result. During the year following there were twenty-five new banks organized in England alone. Companies were organized and started upon every conceivable kind of speculation. Swamps were divided into city property; South Sea islands were cut up and sold in shares; an era of bubbles and speculation began. The inflation caused by this resumption culminated within three years, and nearly all these twenty-five banks which were organized exploded. There were general bankruptcy and havoc throughout the country, carrying with them old and established banks which had survived the perils of nearly a century. Again the Bank of England suspended. When the bank resumed again during the following year both the bank and the people had learned a lesson of prudence that made resumption permanent and enduring.

Such is the lesson which is taught to us by the history of England, whose people are similar in habits and character to our own. It is to avoid the disaster which followed the immediate operations of the first resumption in England that I have addressed a portion of my remarks on this question.

I now propose to consider the question of repealing the legal-tender clause of the statute as applicable to individuals and to business. And, first, let me consider it as applicable to the laboring-man, or to the man who earns his daily bread by his daily labor. Is there anything in the subject of labor that can be more interesting to the laborer than that his employment shall be permanent? If I have any experience in the observations of laboring-men seeking employment, it is that they prefer those occupations and those places which seem to give them the most permanent and established employment. They avoid all

appearance of instability; they seek not especially the amount of pay so much as stability and permanency of employment.

In order to make labor permanent, to make it stable, it is necessary that business should be fixed upon a stable basis. It cannot be fixed upon a currency which is to be changed, from time to time, in value, according to the exigencies and conditions of the country. It must be upon a basis that is solid, stable, and fixed, as coin alone can be, when it is considered in reference to the subject of currency.

Now, look for a moment to the question of business. Take a man who is about to embark his capital in any business enterprise. Is he not much more likely to embark his capital in business if he can see before him a fixed or certain calculation of percentage? Is it not certain that he would like to know and understand the factors upon which his business is to depend for its success? Would not any prudent man embark his capital with great doubt and hesitation in any business that he knows will be varying in price and conducted in a currency which will not be permanent in its value?

If there are any two branches in the success of which this country at this time is especially interested they are manufacturing and commerce. The manufacturer must necessarily embark a large amount of capital in his undertaking. He must construct his buildings, provide his machinery, and after all of this is done he must employ a large amount of labor, and it is important to the success of his enterprise that he must be able to calculate the price of labor upon a fixed basis; and after he has done all of this he must then find a market for his commodities. He must be able to calculate through a series of years upon the fixed laws of trade and values whether he will be likely to make a profit or a loss upon his business. He must also calculate upon active competition in his business, and, therefore, he must understand and study the laws which regulate and control these matters; and I ask gentlemen whether they can reasonably expect the capitalists of the country, the prudent men, to embark their capital in any enterprise unless they have a solid and a fixed basis upon which they can make a calculation for a series of years.

Now, take the question of commerce. How many of us are

longing to see the country revive its commerce? How many of us hope, and we have the right to hope, that we will see our ships in large numbers coming in competition with the commercial nations of the earth, and yet who will enter into a scheme of commerce; who will invest his capital in ships; who will make his ventures in a foreign trade until we have first settled upon a money in which he can satisfactorily come in competition with the other nations of the earth?

It is foreign commerce we seek to revive and yet who would engage in commerce with a foreign nation upon the basis of a currency that is not recognized by the nations of the world?

Who will embark in an enterprise taking so many years to mature unless he knows there is to be an established value to the money of the country, and a fixed stable situation upon which he can count for his profits?

Mr. Speaker, I believe that there is a great future for this country. In making this remark I am not indulging in the language of prophecy. I am only giving voice to the calculations of the statistician; I am only formulating the result of a mathematical problem which we can only work out before our eyes; I am only giving the calculation of the orbit of the planet in its sphere. Look at the mineral wealth which is being taken out of our mines. Look at the immense agricultural resources which have done such wonders during the last few years in bringing back to us the balance of trade. Look at our resources for cotton. We have really control of the cotton market of the world. Look at the condition of this people. Here is the Anglo-Saxon, with his strength of character and his industry; the Latin race, too, is mingled with our people and give us our aptness for commercial enterprises. From Africa we have the enduring material to stand climatic trials, and the Oriental, with his habits of economy, is fast accumulating on our western shore.

With our condition of climate and of soil, our mental, physical and material factors, who can deny that a great future lies before us? A hundred years is but the first experiment of American greatness. We stand here the radiating-point, as it were, of all nations, who are to pour their wealth into the lap of the people of this country. America is to be the great nation of the world, not only possessing the East India trade, which has in past

history made great cities, but trading with every country and with every clime. By means of steam and telegraph and electric light all the appliances which modern man has been able to devise are now ready to focalize themselves in the brilliancy and greatness of this immense country. If there were a monarch controlling us, it is possible he might be unjust. If there were a class of people in the position of an aristocracy controlling us, we might assume injustice. But this is a country in which the people are the sovereigns. They meet and make their laws by the aggregated honesty, fairness and wisdom of the entire people, and it is impossible that we should be expected to predicate either unwise or unfairness of the Government. The people are, and should be, fair to themselves.

Now the first thing that they have to do is to come back to an honest money, based upon the value of the metal in which it is struck. And setting all currency upon that basis, there is a simple, steady, certain march to this goal of success which we are all expecting and which we know must come.

Feb. 11, 1880.

By Mr. LOUNSBERRY: The petition of C. D. Bruyn and 55 others, citizens of the fifteenth congressional district of New York, for the repeal of the legal-tender sections of the Revised Statutes as applicable to United States notes and Treasury notes —to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

COMPULSORY EDUCATION.

April 28, 1880.

Mr. LOUNSBERRY. I rise to oppose the amendment of the gentleman from New York, [Mr. Van Voorhis.]

I understand the gentleman from New York to take the floor in advocacy of penalties. It seems to me that a school law is the very worst place to load up with penal statutes. I have a good deal of sympathy with the position taken by the gentleman from Illinois, [Mr. Singleton.] I know that if we enter up-

on the discussion of the question of compulsory education we open a very wide field of discussion indeed. I have never been an advocate of compulsory education. The best public men we have had, the most successful men in business, in art and in science, have been self-made men, men who were not forced into an artificial curriculum of a public school, but men who by their own volition, while engaged it may be in work, have laid the foundation for a noble public or private career.

I have always distrusted these statutes, and I would like to ask the gentleman from Virginia, [Mr. Hunton] who has charge of this bill, exactly where he picked out this code of compulsory education; whether he took it from the laws of Connecticut, or Massachusetts, or some other of the New England States, or whether he took it from a statute in New York which has not been enforced at all, but stands on the statute-book as the dead-est of dead-letter statutes in that State?

Mr. HUNTON. I will tell the gentlemen if he will allow me.

Mr. LOUNSBERRY. Of course this is not a matter to show any special feeling about. I am satisfied that among the population of the District of Columbia a compulsory-education law will be a dead-letter.

Mr. HUNTON. Will my friend allow me to answer his question?

Mr. LOUNSBERRY. Certainly.

Mr. HUNTON. The gentleman asked me where I picked up this law, whether in Massachusetts or in New York. I will answer my friend that we took it from the laws of the District of Columbia that have been in force for sixteen years.

Mr. LOUNSBERRY. Enforced?

Mr. HUNTON. In force for sixteen years.

Mr. LOUNSBERRY. Not enforced; you are mistaken in that, I think.

Mr. HUNTON. I say in force.

Mr. LOUNSBERRY. You mean enacted, not enforced.

Mr. HUNTON. I say the law has been in force for sixteen years in this District, without one single murmur of complaint from the people.

Mr. LOUNSBERRY. Is my time running on?

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair understood the gentleman to yield to the gentleman from Virginia.

Mr. LOUNSBERRY. For a question; not for a speech.

Mr. HUNTON. I am not making a speech; I am giving you an answer to your question.

Mr. LOUNSBERRY. I have not completed my argument against this compulsory-education provision.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman decline to yield further?

Mr. LOUNSBERRY. Not if I can have other time in which to conclude my argument.

Mr. HUNTON. Very well; go on.

Mr. LOUNSBERRY. There is a mistaken view in regard to the meaning of education. That is to say, it is a mistake to believe that education means instruction in the course of learning which is prescribed in any public school. There is a more useful education than that; and that is what I mean by education, and it is the true meaning.

I ask gentlemen here to turn their attention to persons educated in art. Look at Switzerland, where the finest watches are made today, where the art has been perfected so that the eye is instructed, the fingers are instructed, the mind is instructed in a particular art, which no man can learn except he commences at the very beginning when he is a boy and continues to the time he is an old man.

Now, I ask whether gentlemen here believe it is a wise thing for the Government to compel a boy born of a generation of watch-makers to be drawn out of the direction where nature and hereditary instincts have carried him, and to be forced by a penalty to acquire the kind of learning prescribed by public schools, to which he is disinclined by nature and by his hereditary instincts, and thereby instead of making him one of the most useful men in arts make him a trouble-some, boisterous and disagreeable man in society, inflamed by an ambition for a place for which he is not fitted, and make him a charge upon instead of a help to the community?

[Here the hammer fell.]

CONDEMNING LANDS FOR SCHOOL PURPOSES.

May 5, 1880.

Mr. LOUNSBERRY. I wish to submit an amendment to strike out from this bill all the sections, commencing with section 251, which provide for a compulsory taking of land for school purposes.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will please designate how many sections he desires to strike out.

Mr. HUNTON. Sections 251 to 258 embrace the subject to which the gentleman refers.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair would suggest that the motion be withheld until the sections indicated have been read.

Mr. LOUNSBERRY. That was my purpose.

The Clerk read as follows:

See. 256. Upon payment, or offer of payment, to the proprietors of the land of the damages assessed according to the provisions of the three preceding sections, the title to such land shall pass to and be vested in the District of Columbia, and the verdict of the jury shall be recorded in the land records of the District.

See. 257. In any of the cases mentioned in the four preceding sections it shall be optional with the commissioners to abide by the verdict of the jury and occupy the land or abandon it, without being subject to damages therefor.

Mr. LOUNSBERRY. Mr. Chairman, I now make my motion to strike out. I think the sections which have been read embrace all the provisions, giving to the commissioners the right to enter lands of private individuals without their consent and take possession of them. The very last section read is the one which specially called my attention to the provision in the existing statutes, which I think a very dangerous one. Of course I am aware that many statutes of the States, and perhaps some of our United States statutes, authorize land to be taken upon an assessment for public purposes. But the object here is to take land for the use of public schools; and I wish to state that in my experience I have never seen the demand for real estate for school purposes so great and pressing that the lands of a private individual should be taken for such purposes without his consent.

at any valuation whatever. I need not say (because every one knows it) that when a man has become the owner of a piece of land and has placed there his habitation, it frequently happens that there is no compensation which he is willing to receive in lieu of the home that he has made.

Now look at this statute as applicable to minors and insane persons who have not the mental capacity and are frequently without the physical capacity to protect their titles and secure a proper value for their lands. The provision here is that in the case of minors and insane persons a jury may be called *ex parte*, without notice, without allowing to the parties interested a day in court. Thus their land may be taken; and the minor on attaining years of discretion or the lunatic on regaining the exercise of his faculties may find that under this code of laws of the District of Columbia a title dispossessing him has been recorded upon the record books of the District.

In the first place I object to the practice of taking lands for public schools by compulsion, driving a man from the home he has selected when he is unwilling to part with it at any price. Let these commissioners when wishing land for school purposes go to some person willing to sell, and not to a person who has fixed his home and is unwilling to take any price for it.

I object to the provisions which I have mentioned; and I object to the manner in which the jury are to proceed. I object because there is no day in court. There is no record court provided for the trial of these cases, where the title may be recorded after adjudication of the right to it.

I make another objection, and that is to section 257. That simply goes to the general carelessness, and I dislike to use that word, with which this particular statute has been drawn. The statute provides, in case an appeal is taken to a jury, instead of accepting the valuation the commissioners put on the land and the jury shall assess the value at less than the commissioners, the charge shall be upon the owner, but if it be at a greater sum than the commissioners shall put upon it then the charge shall be upon the commissioners. And yet just as soon as this jury has determined the price at a greater sum than the commissioners valued it at, they have a right to abandon the land and leave the owner charged with the expense of this litigation in the appeal

which they have put upon his hands. I refer to that to show the general carelessness with which this statute has been drawn.

[Here the hammer fell.]

ELECTORAL COUNTING.

June 10, 1880.

Mr. LOUNSBERRY obtained the floor.

Mr. KIEFER. Would the gentleman prefer to speak tomorrow? If so, I will move that the House adjourn.

Several Members. Too early.

Mr. LOUNSBERRY. Mr. Speaker, I had proposed to address myself to two propositions involved in this measure. There are various reasons why this discussion should be brief, apart from the fact that this legislative session is about to close. The proposition is really presented in a very narrow and distinct compass. It is a fact which all members of this House know that we are approaching another election of President. It is less than four years since this House and the country were confronted with an emergency which not only attracted the attention of all our people but was a matter of anxiety with foreign nations as well; and it was really thought that the actual test of the endurance of this Republic was about to be made.

A distinguished citizen of my own State had received a large majority of the popular vote of the country and there had been chosen electors who, if they had been fairly given their certificates and if their votes had been fairly counted, that distinguished citizen would have been declared elected President. Confronted as the country was with that emergency, it was claimed by some persons that it was the power of the Vice-President or the then President of the Senate to declare a partisan adjudication upon the election in the several States. That question was argued, and argued at great length, in the Senate and in this House. It is not necessary for me to reiterate the arguments on each side. The ambition of a single man might have precipitated this country into war, because volunteers were cheerfully offered, and there were men who charged this citizen to whom I have referred with being pusillanimous and craven that he did not put himself

at the head of an army of volunteers and march to this capital to take possession of the office to which the people had fairly chosen him. Yet my honorable and eloquent friend from the State of New Jersey [Mr. Robeson] rises here today in his seat and declares, as I understood him to declare, that there is no language in the Constitution defining the manner by which the President may be chosen, but that it is a matter of strength and power—the army against the volunteers, as I understood.

Mr. ROBESON. Will the gentleman permit a disclaimer? I certainly have said nothing of that kind. All I did say was that when the Constitution gives Congress power to make laws to carry out the Constitution, a joint rule excluding the executive from his share in a matter of legislation is not law under the Constitution.

Mr. LOUNSBERRY. Mr. Speaker, it is not my purpose to misrepresent the gentleman. I gave what I supposed to be the logical effect of his remarks, not the language; for if it be true, as he did assert, that the Constitution has failed to provide a method, if the law has failed to provide a method, and it is impossible for us to make a rule, then it is the logical conclusion of that statement that this question is to be determined every four years by arms and by bloodshed. The disorders which have marked the history of Mexico are to be surpassed by much greater violence and bloodshed than have ever been perpetrated by parties in Mexico in the election of their president.

I propose, therefore, to address myself very briefly to the question whether joint rules are proper to be adopted at this time; and, in the next place, whether they can be effectual under the language of the Constitution and the law.

I understand my learned friend from Iowa [Mr. Updegraff] has made an argument against the adoption of these rules. He is a member of the Committee of this House having in charge this very important question of the manner of counting and declaring the votes for President and Vice-President, and I have listened to his remarks with some care to see whether he has appreciated fully the emergency presented, and whether he has submitted any plan by which we can avoid the dangers I have indicated. All I find from his speech is that there are two ways in which these votes can be counted, and the result de-

clared. One is by the President of the Senate, with an appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States, under laws which are to be passed at some future time. I can get no other idea from the speech which he made, and I propose to show, that in the presence of the emergency we are now approaching, his ideas are not at all applicable to the case.

Let me say, first, that I in a measure differ from the expressions of the learned chairman of the committee on one single point. I think there is an advantage in a joint rule over the enactment of a law in some respects, and I will proceed to show how I reached that conclusion against the conclusion which I first reached with the gentleman that it was absolutely necessary we should enact a statute upon the question.

The Constitution says that the certificates from the several States shall be sent to the national capital, and on a day mentioned in the Constitution they shall be opened. The Constitution provides on that day and in that place the Senate and House of Representatives shall be in session. What does the Constitution say the President of the Senate shall do? It says he shall open the returns, and it stops there, putting upon him no further act or duty.

Who is this President of the Senate? It is supposed by some he is the Vice-President. Not necessarily so. The Vice-President, if he be present there, ex officio is President of the Senate, and if he be absent the person who sits there as President of the Senate is the creature of the Senate, made by the Senate, chosen by them as they have the right to do under the Constitution.

Now, the Constitution says these certificates shall be opened by the President of the Senate, whoever he may be, the Vice-President or this creature of the Senate; and it says these certificates shall then be counted. It does not say by the President of the Senate. There is an entire absence of direction.

Let me show briefly the reason why the Senate is there. Because the Constitution says on that day and occasion they shall be present. This creature of theirs opens and in their presence counts. Why should there be the presence of the Senate? Did the makers of the Constitution have any meaning in that word "presence?" The Senate must be there and the counting must

be done, and it must be done in the presence of the Senate. Who does it? The creature of the Senate or the Senate itself?

More than that, the Constitution says that the House of Representatives shall be there, and it shall be done in the presence of the House of Representatives. Why? In case there shall be no choice of President, in case no person shall have received a majority of the votes cast, then there is a failure to elect the President; and who determines that fact? Who is to determine for the House of Representatives, for they have to know it, because the Constitution puts upon them the duty, immediately upon the determination that no person has been elected by the people, immediately to elect the President? It is absolutely necessary to carry out the Constitution that the House of Representatives should pass upon the fact that no person has been chosen by the electors, that there has been no choice under the Constitution, for then the Constitution says the House of Representatives shall immediately choose from one of the three persons on the list voted for as President a person to be President of the United States.

I understand it has been argued this House of Representatives, which the Constitution says shall be there, has no power to act, no power to judge, is there simply as idle persons witnessing an act to be performed by the President of the Senate. Yet, in the same clause, they are bound to judge and declare no person has been elected. They are bound under the Constitution, in case there has been no election, to proceed to the election of a President.

This briefly discusses the question whether this is an act of the two branches acting under the Constitution, or whether it was intended by the framers of the Constitution to be a mere manual act on the part of the President of the Senate.

Mr. ROBINSON. If it will not interrupt the gentleman from New York, I would be glad to make a suggestion to him in this connection upon which I would like to have his opinion.

Mr. LOUNSBERRY. I am perfectly willing to yield to my friend from Massachusetts, but I would prefer to complete this thought. Then I will yield cheerfully.

I have reached the conclusion in my own mind that the counting and declaring of the result of the vote of the electors

is an act of sovereign power, delegated to the two Houses of Congress by the Constitution; that when the Constitution says the votes shall then be counted in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, it made the two branches of Congress the two factors by which the result was to be reached and declared. Now, I will yield to the question of my friend.

Mr. ROBINSON. I understand the gentleman to argue that there is no express provision in the Constitution by which the Vice-President can count the votes.

Mr. LOUNSBERRY. The Constitution says the President of the Senate, who is not necessarily the Vice-President.

Mr. ROBINSON. Then I understand that there is entire absence of that power in the President of the Senate.

Mr. LOUNSBERRY. Will the gentleman allow me to quote the exact language of the Constitution itself?

Mr. ROBINSON. That is of course familiar.

Mr. LOUNSBERRY. I will read it so that my position may be distinctly understood:

"The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted."

Mr. ROBINSON. Very well; now the Constitution does not say that they shall be counted by the Vice-President or the President of the Senate, neither does it say that they shall be counted by Congress.

Mr. LOUNSBERRY. Nor do I argue that they shall be counted by Congress.

Mr. ROBINSON. I understand the gentleman says the next step is that Congress shall judge or determine whether any person shall count them.

Mr. LOUNSBERRY. They are required to judge whether or not any person has been chosen by the people under the Constitution.

Mr. ROBINSON. Where is that language in the Constitution?

Mr. LOUNSBERRY. It is here.

Mr. ROBINSON. That would leave the power in the House of Representatives, not in the two Houses of Congress.

Mr. LOUNSBERRY. To judge that, of course. The language of the Constitution is that, "and if no person have such majority,

then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President."

I take the meaning of that to be that the House must determine that there has been no choice. The House must determine who are the three having received the highest number of votes, because that determination or adjudication was preliminary to the next step, namely, of electing.

Mr. ROBINSON. I want to suggest the embarrassment we have here. If there is absence of power in the President of the Senate to count, there is also absence of power in the Congress, and, further, when the language says that "if no person have such majority," then the House of Representatives shall do something. There is there an absence of expression of power on the part of Congress or even the House to determine whether any person has the majority. You find again a single step further that the House of Representatives shall do something if it is decided that no person has a majority. Now who is going to determine that?

Mr. LOUNSBERRY. I was approaching that part of my argument at the time the gentleman interrupted me.

Mr. ROBINSON. I only wanted to suggest that thought to the gentleman so that he might illustrate it in his argument. The question is a very difficult one and without reference to parties or to its political bearing it is one that should be distinctly considered, no matter who shall be President.

Mr. LOUNSBERRY. I am entirely aware that there are troubles besetting this question, and not alone the particular point as to which we are now speaking, but there are other difficulties in the same amendment—article 12 of the Constitution. They are political questions, and political questions are always liable to trouble. They need wisdom and patriotism both when they are to be discussed and dealt with, and I invoke in the consideration of this question, both elements, wisdom and patriotism, and I have tried to bring both to bear upon this subject. I say, Mr. Speaker, it is no easy question to deal with. If the Constitution had stated that Congress shall count the vote, the expression would have been easy of interpretation

but very difficult to carry into effect. There must have been an inherent difficulty with the framers of the Constitution, and which they were called upon to meet when they were giving language to this part of that instrument, and that difficulty grows greater as antagonizing interests and powers grow and fight each other in the choice of electors and in the declaration of the result. But I reach the conclusion that the two branches which make up the Congress of the United States, the law-making power, have the right to count because there is no provision in the Constitution which reposes that right in any other person or persons, and therefore that clause of the Constitution comes in which gives to Congress the right to energize and supplement every provision of that instrument which does not carry out and project itself into effect. Now the two Houses of Congress are a law unto themselves. They have the power to pass statutes. They have the power to make rules. They have the power to refuse to obey law, because the law is their creature. They have the power to disobey their own rules, because the rules are of their own creation.

Now, is there any reason in that idea which gentlemen have thrown out, and which I understand my eloquent friend from New Jersey [Mr. Robeson] to make the basis of his opposition to these rules? He says because the two Houses of Congress have a right to refuse to obey these rules, therefore they shall not be observed. It is a great misfortune, perhaps I should say a good fortune, that this law-making power, which is composed of the Senate and House of Representatives, is not bound by law. It is bound by the Constitution, because that is the organic act of the people in convention. But laws are made by the Senate and House of Representatives in Congress assembled. They make and unmake laws; they may obey if they choose and they may disobey; and it is just so with a rule. But yet let me tell my friend from New Jersey it is my belief if we pass this rule—and I am not here to discuss whether in language it be wise or unwise, I am not here to discuss its provisions—but I wish to say if we adopt this rule we do so to formulate the action which the two Houses of Congress are to take when they come together, and it will be a light, if they choose to follow it, by which to guide their steps. On the other hand, if we leave

them to act without a rule provided beforehand, they are left on an emergency to make rules, because they cannot get on without rules.

These are rules of order, rules to establish procedure, not to establish right. These rules do not change the Constitution. They will not change the law, but simply provide a manner of acting to the two Houses, and if we pass them they will be ready made and to hand when the emergency of counting the vote of the next presidential election shall occur.

Is it not a wise thing to adopt rules for that purpose? I submit to my friend from New Jersey, looking at it as I do, and assuming that these rules are to be followed, and to furnish a guide for the action of these two bodies, is it not wise to adopt them now?

Mr. KEIFER. Will the gentleman yield to me for a question?

Mr. LOUNSBERRY. Yes, sir.

Mr. KEIFER. I understood the gentleman to say these rules were in no sense intended to regulate the conduct of anybody but Congress in counting the vote. I want to call his attention to what is contained in lines 5 to 10 of section 3. Let me read the words. Speaking of what is to be done by the President of the Senate, the language of the section is:

"He shall open all the certified lists of votes of electors (or papers purporting to be such certified list of votes) of each State respectively, which shall have been delivered to him, in the order herein prescribed, and shall deliver them to the tellers, by whom they shall be read in the presence and hearing of the two Houses."

Now, my question is this: In view of the fact that the Constitution of the United States provides that the President of the Senate shall open certain certified papers, is it in the power of the House, by a joint rule or otherwise, to require him, as is proposed here, to open all kinds of papers that may be sent to him purporting to be certified lists of votes?

Mr. LOUNSBERRY. I had supposed that the question of the gentleman came directly within the next proposition I was about to discuss. It is germane to it, and I will therefore proceed to state my concluding proposition upon this question. I understood my friend from New Jersey [Mr. Robeson] to claim that these rules could not affect outsiders; I quote his words as I

understood them. These rules are, in my opinion, like the rules of a court having jurisdiction by constitution and by law of the subject-matters pending before that court. The court makes to itself rules by which it acts and by which others may act; and so far as others are affected by those rules they affect outsiders.

If I am right in my argument that the Senate and House of Representatives ought to have jurisdiction of this subject-matter, then they have the right to make rules of order by which they shall exercise that jurisdiction and proceed to an adjudication upon it. And so far as that adjudication shall affect outsiders, these rules become effectual and binding upon outsiders, so that in fact they are affected by them. Yet, as I said before, there is no right determined by these rules of order. The court itself may, if it see fit, set aside its rules momentarily or continuously. It is only the part of wisdom to adopt rules.

Mr. ROBESON. I fear the gentleman does not understand my proposition, and with his permission I will state it again.

My proposition is this: If Congress has the right to act at all upon this subject, it has the right to act under that provision of the Constitution which was quoted by the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. Bicknell] authorizing Congress to make laws to carry into effect the provisions of the Constitution. When that Constitution authorized Congress to make laws it did not authorize them to make anything else. Laws are definite things, things to be passed by both Houses separately and signed by the Executive, or passed by a two-thirds vote over his veto.

When the Constitution says that Congress may make laws for carrying out the provisions of the Constitution, it excludes the idea of doing it in any other way. I disclaim here before this House and before the country any fear of violence. I never made any allusion to fear or violence, as the gentleman has attributed to me. But I did say that those two Houses of Congress cannot make a rule under the constitutional provision which says that they shall make rules to govern their own procedure—cannot make a rule which shall authorize the returns of the votes of a State to be thrown out and that State disfranchised, merely because the two Houses of Congress, elected two years before, concur in throwing out that vote.

Mr. HUNTON. Will the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. Robeson] allow me to ask him a question?

Mr. LOUNSBERRY. I cannot yield now. I cannot allow the gentleman from New Jersey to put in my speech another speech of his own.

It is apparent that we stand upon entirely different grounds of reasoning in this case. I understand the gentleman to be constantly insisting that the counting of the electoral vote under the Constitution is the work of Congress. I have made no such argument as that; I have no such theory. I do not say that it is the law-making power which adjudges and declares the result of the election, nor do I think it is so placed by the language of the Constitution. The Constitution requires the Senate to be present as a separate body; the Senate of the United States with its President making one body. It requires the House of Representatives to be present as an integer by itself; the Speaker and the House of Representatives making the House of Representatives of the United States. These two bodies, named as they are in this section of the Constitution, and not Congress, are to count and declare the electoral vote. The Senate is there because the Constitution puts it there to do its work. The House is there because the Constitution puts it there, and because it has to judge whether or not a President has been elected.

Therefore, it is not a question, as the gentleman states, about which Congress must make a law, because the Constitution has not put it into the power of Congress. Nor is he right in another respect, because if it be left to Congress to act, so as to involve the entire law-making power, then it is necessary that the President should exercise the right of veto which is given him by the Constitution. There was no such purpose in this provision of the Constitution. It was not placed with the law-making power, in the exercise of which the President has a function. It was placed in the power of the two branches of Congress, the Senate as a separate and distinct branch, and the House of Representatives as a separate and distinct branch, each to perform its functions separately and distinctly, and each in the end uniting and declaring the result of the election.

One word more and I will be through. Have gentlemen who have been putting themselves in opposition to this rule considered

the emergency? Have they considered that if we refuse to act at this time, if we refuse to act with promptness—because our time to act will soon be passed—the two Houses of Congress will come together next winter, as the Constitution says they shall come, without any light or guide except their conscience and their purpose at the time when they have to act? Do they not know that when great interests are at stake, when two, three, or perhaps more parties in this country shall have been in a struggle hot and exciting, the blood not yet cooled, the results not yet determined, the dispute still active in the public minds in all the States—do not gentleman know the great danger which will hang over us if we now refuse to act?

REFUNDING.

Jan. 6, 1881.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New York is entitled to eight minutes.

Mr. LOUNSBERRY. Mr. Chairman, I am obliged to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Springer] for the unexpected opportunity I have to make a brief expression of the reason why I shall oppose the general propositions contained in this bill. There are no doubt very many of the people of the country and of my own constituency who are induced to favor a refunding bill on account of the promise it affords for a reduction of the interest on the national debt. But there is much that is delusive in this promise. I esteem it of much greater importance that this debt of the country should be paid at the very earliest opportunity afforded to the Government and according to the means and revenue of the Government than that it should be refunded at a lower rate of interest. We must assume—and in this respect I am greatly relieved in the statement of my views by the fact that my friend from Maryland [Mr. McLane] and my friend from Illinois [Mr. Springer] have given the statistics upon which the proposition rests—I say we must assume that for the next few years at least the income of the Government will be much larger than it has been in the past. We cannot expect from this Congress, and very likely not from the next, any radical change in our custom

laws, whereby the people shall be relieved from taxation. We may therefore expect the revenues arising from the increased prosperity of the country will gradually increase rather than diminish from duties on imports. The national resources then will be greater, and yet it is stated by the Secretary of the Treasury that for the last year our revenues furnished \$90,000,000 to diminish the national debt.

Now, sir, if we adopt the proposition of this bill to refund \$500,000,000 into a permanent debt, outside of the possibility of being redeemed for thirty years, there must necessarily be gathered into the Treasury an amount of income which cannot be used in the payment of the public debt. Under the present law it cannot even be used as a sinking fund. Hence arises the difficulty which has not been stated in this debate hitherto, but which to my mind is a controlling one. A large fund gathered into the Treasury will furnish temptation for large and unusual appropriations of money. Members of Congress here in this House, all of them, are pressed by their constituents one way or another for the construction of public buildings, for the commencement of public works, for expenditures upon those that are already commenced, or for expenditures upon this matter or that, and there will be a constantly increasing pressure brought to bear upon them, so that extravagant appropriations of the public moneys lying idle in the Treasury, which cannot be even used for the payment of the national debt and the cancellation of the outstanding bonds, will inevitably follow.

In the first place, by my vote and position upon this bill, in alliance with my friend from Pennsylvania [Mr. Kelley.] who from exactly opposite motives opposes this permanent debt because he sees in it a reason why Congress will be moved from time to time, and more strongly moved for the reduction of customs duties, I am vote to vote against the proposition of funding \$500,000,000 because I fear it must necessarily place in our Treasury a large sum of money and be a temptation thereby to the House of Representatives and to the Senate to discover some new fashion of expending money in the public service. It is fortunate that this is not a party measure at this time. It might well have been forced into the rut of party consideration. But we meet this question, a purely economic and business one, standing alone

upon figures and computation, fortunately at this time in such manner that I find high-tariff men and low-tariff men such as myself, the leaders of the green-backers of the country and the hard-money men of the country, all able to unite in opposition to a permanent fastening of the public debt upon the people of this country.

[Here the hammer fell.]

RIVERS AND HARBORS.

Feb. 15, 1881.

Mr. LOUNSBERRY. I offer an amendment which I send to the desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

Strike out the paragraph just read, namely, these words: "Improving Flushing Bay, New York, \$10,000."

Mr. LOUNSBERRY. I do not know what Representative from my State is interested in the two lines of the bill covered by my amendment; but I wish to say that I cannot allow him exclusively to represent the interests of Flushing Bay. As one of the Representatives of the State of New York, and as representing a city that has some commerce in Flushing Bay, I have a right to speak for that locality. I want to say it is not possible to improve Flushing Bay. Mark the language of the bill as it reads: "Improving Flushing Bay."

There is no more beautiful bay lit up by the sunshine of the early morning or the moonshine of the evening. Look at its beautiful shores washed by the waters of the Atlantic Ocean, as its wild waves sport and play with the Long Island coast, its limpid and pure waters showing the Little Neck clams feeding upon the sands in this beautiful bay. Doubtless there are some of the citizens of my city that carry on a thriving trade in these succulent Little Neck and other clams, and, representing these constituents, I would not have this bay improved so as to destroy that commerce.

This paragraph to be stricken out by my amendment is perhaps not worse than some other paragraphs in this bill to which

reference might be made. It will be observed that the paragraph does not refer to the improvement of the navigation of this bay. It may refer to the improvement of its views or of its appearance to the stranger. There may be some country seat located upon the sloping banks of Flushing Bay that is to be improved by this section. There is certainly this obscurity in the language.

I ask the attention of the committee to the fact that some few years ago there was an appropriation made in the river and harbor bill for the improvement of Rondout Harbor, the harbor of my city. The work was carried on; I will not say it is carried on to completion today, but to such a state of perfection that there is not a single man in my city that will father the plans by which that money was expended; there is not one single man who will say he consented to that plan. There may possibly be some individual owner of land or some incorporated owners of land that that improvement was calculated to benefit, and I hope they will some time realize the full advantage of the money laid out in Rondout Harbor.

I can give here as I gave a year ago, standing in my place, in the minute of time allotted to me for a speech upon the river and harbor bill then pending, the testimony of navigators and owners of vessels that, on the whole, the money expended in Rondout Harbor and the Hudson River, instead of being for the benefit of commerce, affords today an obstruction to the commerce of the State, and the money instead of being merely sunk in the bottom of the river has been used to destroy and injure the value of the river as a navigable stream. The newspapers and people of my district, so far as they have spoken upon the subject, are opposed to this bill. They do not simply oppose this paragraph, they oppose these appropriations, come they as single spies or in battalions.

It is a misfortune that the subject of improving the rivers and harbors and the internal commerce of the country, a very beneficent thing if properly managed, is not under the regulation of law, not controlled or governed by statute or plan, but rests alone and solely in the discretion of the members of a committee. I will say no ill word of any person. I do not wish to speak ill of any member of this committee. They are all human like myself

and like every other Representative. They can yield to pressure, to urging, to allurement of individuals; they yield to pressure of interest; and we find that all the appropriations that are contained in this bill are not made solely to benefit the commerce of the country. [Here the hammer fell.] Mr. Chairman, I had not completed what I had to say upon this subject.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

The CHAIRMAN. Debate has been exhausted upon the pending amendment.

Mr. LOUNSBERRY. Under the circumstances I ask permission of the committee to withdraw the amendment I have offered and to substitute one in its place, to insert after the word "improving," in line 67, the words, "the navigation of;" so that it will read "improving the navigation of Flushing Bay." And I desire to be heard a moment or two on that amendment in answer to my colleague, who has just taken his seat, [Mr. Covert.]

I wish to say that I was entirely unaware that my motion in the first place affected his interest in any way, for I have the most tender feelings of respect toward that gentleman. Representing as I do to some extent Flushing Bay, I want, however, to warn him that there is great danger in accepting an appropriation for the improvement of the navigation of that bay by diking the entrance of the bay, as is proposed by the plan of the work recommended by the engineers. May I call the attention of my colleague to the history of Amsterdam?

Mr. COX. Or any other "dam." [Laughter.]

Mr. LOUNSBERRY. Some gentlemen want to introduce other "dams." I refer to Amsterdam in no such profane spirit. It was once a city controlling the East India trade and the commerce of the world. By appropriations and by engineering and diking Amsterdam engineered and diked away its commerce to other places. By the peculiar system of engineering adopted at Amsterdam, it has now become a harbor where it is necessary for vessels to be locked up by means of the tide-locks in order to reach the city.

Now, let me say generally on this matter of appropriations for improving the rivers and harbors—and I am not speaking my own opinion alone—engineers as well as members on this floor differ as to the propriety of a certain method of improving rivers

and harbors; but I have been told by engineers, and there seems to be reason in it, that if there be appropriated and expended such sums as are demanded for completing the improvement in progress in the channel at Hell Gate by removing obstructions there, the bar in the Narrows, through which channel now passes all the foreign commerce which the city of New York receives will be raised eighteen inches above its present height.

If gentlemen will look for a moment at the matter they will see that if the channel of Hell Gate be opened so that an additional amount of water from New York Harbor will flow out through it, the channel at the Narrows will be relieved from discharging a certain amount of the water from New York Bay upon each receding tide, and will adapt itself to the new condition of things. There will be needed there a smaller channel for the discharge of water from New York Bay through the Narrows, and thus a large portion of the foreign shipping now coming to New York through that channel will be driven away from the port, and New York and Flushing Bay and all these beautiful and fair places which gentlemen desire to improve by this bill, will be stripped of the commerce which they now possess.

[Here the hammer fell.]

Mr. LOUNSBERRY. In addition to what I have already stated upon the point of order raised by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Springer,] it has occurred to me that this bill cannot be considered as a general appropriation bill; and that seems to me to be the entire proposition involved in this point of order.

A general appropriation bill, if that term be the subject of definition, is such a bill as makes appropriations for expenses to be incurred or which have been incurred under the general laws of the United States. They must be connected with the general operations of the Government; they must be connected with a general design for the management of the Government. Perhaps that does not give a very complete definition, but it is sufficient to show the definition I now propose to make as applicable to this bill.

There is no general law, there is no general scheme for the improvement of rivers and harbors. There is in fact no general purpose expressed in any law for internal improvements. There is not in the Constitution any expression of purpose that the

Government should make any general law for internal improvements. If Congress should undertake to make internal improvements, or improvements of rivers and harbors under general statute, it would first be necessary to adopt a design and purpose in regard to those improvements.

And then there should be a general statute applicable to the subject, so covering it that Congress could act upon it within certain defined and specified limits. Now there has been no such general design adopted; no such general law passed. From the very beginning this particular class of appropriations reported from the Committee on Commerce has not been classed with the ordinary and general appropriations which Congress annually makes. They have been referred to the Committee on Commerce, and that committee has acted upon them as if it had no guide, no law, no discretion but what has been properly defined as the law of log-rolling as well as log-floating. They seem to be controlled by certain methods of compensation between themselves as to the distribution of these improvements among the different parts of the country, not by any general plan or regulation, not by any scheme which the Government has devised or organized, not by any general statute which has ever been discussed or framed; not even by any general scheme or plan which engineers, differing and dividing among themselves, may have proposed as a proper plan upon which the Government should proceed in this matter.

Each individual proposition stands upon its special merits, or rather upon the merits of some one of the excellent Representatives who surround me. And I could wish that I had in myself some special excellence so that I might commend myself in reference to this class of appropriations, so as to be beneficially and generously treated by the Committee on Commerce.

This class of appropriations is absolutely special. It is not controlled by any general law; it is absolutely as free as the air. The spirit which seems to control this committee in preparing these bills is not the spirit of law, but the spirit of compensation between themselves, special, complete in itself, and ungoverned by any law.

I have compared it to the wind, but the wind is governed by law; there is a law which regulates the wind, and there is a law

which regulates the water courses. But the Committee on Commerce, when they are considering these bills, has no law, no regulation, no rule. This is not a general appropriation bill, but special in the very worst sense of that term.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

Feb. 19, 1881.

The committee informally rose; and Mr. Lounsbury having taken the chair as Speaker pro tempore, a message from the Senate, by Mr. Burch, its Secretary, was received, announcing that the Senate had accepted the invitation extended by the House of Representatives to attend the funeral of the late Hon. Fernando Wood today.

Mr. CLYMER. I ask for the reading of the message from the Senate.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The message will be read unless there be objection.

There was no objection.

The Clerk read as follows:

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

February 19, 1881.

Resolved, That pursuant to the invitation of the House of Representatives the Senate will adjourn this day at two o'clock p. m. in order to permit the members and officers of the Senate to attend the funeral of Hon. Fernando Wood, late a member of the House of Representatives from the State of New York, at his late residence in this city, at three o'clock p. m.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate the foregoing resolution to the House of Representatives.

ADDRESS OF MR. LOUNSBERY.

Feb. 28, 1881.

Mr. SPEAKER. The voice of my colleague but lately sounded in this Hall. Today it is forever hushed. His body lies sepulchred with the dead. The mournful duties of his associates connected with his obsequies close with the present hour.

I shall not indulge in fulsome adulation; but I shall mingle with others in making a truthful portraiture of a life largely devoted to the public service, and ended while engaged in a most earnest and exhausting struggle in the interest of his country. I would render here the lesson of his life, bred of self-instruction and determined effort; projected among a people of which he was truly a part, and ended amid duties that had become congenial to his habits and nature.

Fernando Wood was born in 1812, at Philadelphia, where his parents were temporarily residing. He was reared in New York City. At the age of thirteen years, on his own account, but with the consent of his parents, he took employment in a book-store, and thenceforward supported himself and educated himself. Very young, he took part in the local politics of his city, and at the age of twenty-eight was elected to Congress from one of the city districts, and served for two years in the same Congress with Daniel Webster, Henry Clay and John C. Calhoun, forming an intimate acquaintance with the two latter.

He returned at the end of his term, with his business broken up by his political services and with the resolve never more to participate in politics, but to devote himself exclusively to building up a fortune. He adhered to this resolution until he had succeeded to his satisfaction. He had been successful in business. He had built up a shipping trade which, with several fortunate ventures, had made him in 1854 an accumulation of gains on which he felt justified in retiring from active business. He had had the sagacity when the gold discoveries made California a field for adventures to land several carloads of goods at San Francisco and with the profits to purchase real estate there. He also bought real estate in New York City, and with the growing prosperity of the country he became a man of wealth as that word was used at that time. He then again felt able to indulge his old fondness for politics and he was elected Mayor of New York in 1854 and re-elected for two subsequent terms. In 1862 he was elected to a seat in Congress from the ninth New York district, and he has without break held this seat. It seemed to be the fixed determination of his constituents to continue him in Congress till his death. At the last election, though continuously confined to his house by sickness, and

though his party was divided by rival factions, he was again elected to his tenth successive term. This term, by reason of his death, he has not been able to enter upon.

His Congressional services connect the deceased with an eventful period of his country's history. He sat in this Hall while the representatives of many of the States were absent from their seats by secession; while a war of the sections was in active progress; while reconstruction was emerging by conflicting propositions; while the waste of war was giving place to restoration; and while the credit of the country was being rebuilt. When his party came again to a majority in this House he was made Chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means. He participated in the enactment of laws that tended to returning prosperity. He participated in the triumphs of a coin resumption by the Treasury. He saw the government bonds appreciated in the markets of the world. His voice has hardly yet died along the walls of this Chamber in the eloquent expression of his confidence in the government credit and in its ability to refund its redeemable indebtedness at the rate of 3 per cent.

I was one of many interested witnesses of his last and most earnest effort. His voice was already broken by approaching dissolution, but his mind was clear. He seemed determined to leave this act impressed upon the financial history of his country as a monument to his legislative career. Those who saw the dying statesman as he retired from the House after the result of the vote upon his bill had been announced were irresistibly reminded of the words of the dying Adams:

This is the last of earth, and I am content.

This picture in outline is that of a successful career. Of eminence achieved as a legislator under such circumstances as make his case, though not exceptional sufficiently rare to mark it as a notable event. Though educated to trade, he was not unsuccessful as an orator. Without the learning of the books he had become cultured in state-craft. He was the representative of a class of public men in his country who have succeeded by a positive purpose without the aid of erudition. He was peculiarly the child of his city, and was honored by it because he so fitly represented its growth and its practical habits and methods.

The deceased was magnificent without ostentation. When he was carrying on a shipping trade with immense profits his office was small and ill-furnished. His residence in New York, though princely in its extent and in its appointments, was plain and without ornament to attract the eye of the stranger. At his home in Washington, where he was beyond precedent liberal in his hospitality, he did nothing to attract observation. His funeral obsequies were conducted according to his wishes in such manner as to repel public demonstration to his memory.

The deceased had much store in his family and his fireside. He leaves a surviving family of eleven children, not spoiled by tenderness, but reared under the affectionate eye of a devoted father.

His will, drawn when he had reason to expect a speedy death, shows that his chief concern was to make ample provision for the care of his afflicted widow.

We have put away in his tomb our distinguished associate. A column has fallen not easily replaced. I mourn in him a lost friend. The country has no longer his wise and devoted counsels. His fireside is desolated of his care and protection. We have left only the recollection of a history rounded out to a ripe and complete fruition. We can rest alone in the remembrance of his achievements—

For memory is the only friend
That grief can call her own.

CARRIER'S ADDRESS.

[Written for the Kingston Journal, January 1, 1876.]

How slowly minutes pass: we look and look in vain,
And strain, to hear the whistle of belated train,
When watching in the lonely night at sick-bed side,
With what a sluggish pace the hands upon the dial glide!
The tardy dawn is late, the sun is slow to rise;
Time hardly moves, perceptible to longing eyes.

But quickly comes the breasted day when rent is due,
And rapid runs the ninety days, when I O U.
How quickly speeds appointed day of felon's doom;
And though, to heirs, the old seem slow in making room
Yet, to themselves, on rapid wing the grave draws near,
And moments fly, as they to death approach with fear.

We look ahead—how long the coming week appears;
When looking back, how quick we scan one hundred years!

* * * * *

This excursion of fancy, so little expected,
Is unfitted to metre, long measure excepted;
And a Carrier Boy, though early he rises,
Is not always cut out for poetical prizes.
But this is the year, no doubt you all know it—
When every good boy is a Centennial poet;
And long metre was used—and no one has wondered—
Forever before this, in singing "Old Hundred."

1776.

One early morn, at light of dawn,
Four hundred men marched out with Vaughn.

They did expect to give a touch
 Of brimstone to the 'Sopus Dutch.
 They formed their lines upon the "Strand,"
 And took the route that they had planned.
 At sunrise they had reached the place
 Which now the City Hall does grace;
 And, squatting down among the trees,
 They took a whiff of morning breeze.
 And thought that they would not be rash,
 And march on more without their hash.

All this movement had been seen
 By Kingston men on school-house green;
 And word was passed from one to one,
 "Lope, yungor! lope! the Roayer come!"
 And young and old—it was not a few—
 "Loped" through the fields, "nor Hurley to."
 And so the red-coats, when they came,
 Found nought to do but make a flame;
 To burn the town none did resist,
 As some historians do insist.

No records of that day were found,
 Till Supervisors had them bound.
 They had a man translate the Dutch—
 It seems he did it overmuch:
 The whole thing was, in fact, translated,
 But how or where, is not related;
 And we are left quite in the dark,
 Without a single ray or spark
 To light our way, that we can see—
 Quite like DuBois with little b.

Now, since we cannot build on fact,
 Some fancy will perhaps attract,
 And we will write the history out
 To satisfy the veriest lout,
 And 'Sopus though somewhat behind
 (A fault the Dutch will never mind),
 Will have a chance to celebrate

In some small way, at any rate,
How much we did to free the land
And get Centennial stuff on hand.

It is a fact, quite well appnov-ed,
That we were only out-maneuvered;
The planning of our whole defenses
Was crippled by their great expenses.
We had too long a river-front,
To be well walled as it had wont;
In such a strait it was agreed
To man the place which most had need.

Oh, Coddington then
We had need of your men,
A regiment dapper and true;
As valiant and brave,
The country to save,
As ever dressed up in the blue.

No Briton could stand
In arms on our land,
When we could have warriors like you;
No Rosendale riot
Can succeed, when the fiat
Brings out our bold soldiers in blue.

In front and in rear,
Our town has no fear,
With such good defenders in view;
We safely may trust,
As ever we must,
The nerve of our soldiers in blue.

On the Sunday before the coming of Vaughn,
The Assembly in session had ordere^t in form
That the troops of the County, commanded by Tappen,
Should come down the Walkkill, to act as might happen.
It was preached that day in the sermon by Goethius,
That breaking the Sabbath a lesson would teach us,

That legislating on Sunday was going too far
With the very bad maxim, "No Sabbath in war."

However this reasoning, at times, we may slight,
The result showed the Dominic's prediction was right;
For our troops, though they marched at the speed of a rout,
Only reached, in disorder, the hill called Kuy Kuy't.
They saw to their sorrow, if not to their shame,
That the people had fled, and their houses in flame.

1876.

The papers quite rarely, howe'er they desire,
Can find to record such a very large fire.
To complete the account in the usual way,
According to custom established to-day,
We should speak of the Firemen, what they endured,
Of the losses that happened, and what was insured.

One word of the Steamer, our glory and pride,
As dear to the boys as a lovely young bride;
Its brasses all bright, and its membership full,
It has minds like a Fulton's, and bodies like Hull.

By two horses drawn, at a spanking swift pace,
It was early on hand, with the hose stretched in place;
Its smoking and puffs and the crowd gathered near
Soon made us all think we had nothing to fear.

We waited some time, expecting the stream,
Quite ready to witness the wonders of steam;
An impatient by-stander, an impertinent lout,
Announced to the crowd that the water was out.

"The cistern's not out," said the Chief, "it is full;
I found it last Sunday six feet by my rule."
"It's not that," said the man, "I'm no broiler,
I only say there is none in the boiler."

There's a moral in this, you can see it or not:
That you ne'er go to war without your pitch hot.

And another I've found, without straining my eyes,
I'll tell for a quarter, to your great surprise:
That money you give now is no great expense,
The loss you'll not feel one hundred years hence.

CARRIER'S ADDRESS.

[Written for the Kingston Journal, January 1, 1878.]

Verbum sat.—FRANKLIN.

The chilly wind of Winter
Its solemn requiem sings.
To us among the living
A warning voice it brings;
O'er grave-mounds of departed
A snowy mantle flings.

The old clock on the mantel
Ticks off the moments flying:
A sad refrain its music
To north wind's solemn sighing—
A sad refrain to silence,
In which the year is dying.

A warm stove sheds its radiance
About my quiet room;
A brilliant-burning gas-light
Dispels the outer gloom:
My mind is weaving fabrics
From Memory's magic loom.

"T is said Recording Angel,
With stenographic pen,
Takes down each deed that's acted
Among the ranks of men,
And stereotypes the annals
Beyond our mortal ken.

We better know what man does
 In this reporting age:
 How rapid "Graphic process"
 Can easily engage
 To make description clearer
 Than Livy's pictured page.

Not like the old News Letter,
 Which traveled like a drone—
 The talk is now by lightning
 From Ind to Polar zone,
 Accompanied by music
 Of magic telephone.

At opening year, unraveling
 This tangled web of facts,
 The Carrier of the Journal
 Again his noodle racks—
 Again his rhyming budget
 Before the world unpacks.

Duo Homines.—LATIN LEXICON.

The first of importance to all mankind
 Is the question of money—so I find.
 I believe it generally now is found
 There isn't enough to go all the way 'round.
 Some scheme to make up what it lacks us
 For household expenses and taxes,
 Is wanting—a genius inventive,
 To devise some certain preventive
 Against hard times—a Congressman Bland,
 With a silver bill ready at hand,
 When the silver gives out, to employ,
 To make it go further, a baser alloy.
 'T is his plan that's relied greatly on
 In solving *le question d'argent*.

Another good plan now proposed
 (It's a scheme resurrected
 Where least was expected
 A thought of such greatness reposed),

Is by Winne, whose first name is "Hank"—
 His machine is wound up by a crank:
 A toll-gate erected in every street
 Is surely enough our expenses to meet.
 There is no other plan, to my mind,
 So well adapted to "raising the wind."

Nihil fit.—TERENCE.

In the war that's now raging 'twixt Russian and Turk,
 Some questions of interest to women may lurk.
 If the Turks rule the roast, as they possibly may,
 The power of Islam how can we gainsay?
 The Old Turk himself, growing quite harum-scarum,
 May come over here to replenish his harem.
 If the Cossack prevails, and the Turks lose their lives,
 What, then, will become of their innumerable wives?
 It's more likely, we think, if the Turks are o'erreached,
 That the Russians will be by the widows bewitched;
 And thus it may happen, as a dernier resort,
 That the arms of the women save the Ottoman Porte.
 Let's be thankful, at least, that, while war rages there,
 In peace most profound we are all living here.
 No show of disturbance, since quelling the riot,
 Is annoying the town, or dispelling its quiet.
 Whilst armies of Turks o'er the Balkans may roam,
 We can sit down in peace, 'round our Turkey at home.

*Mus cucurrit, plenum sed,
 Contra magnum meum ad.*—ANON.

The toughest old subjects to tackle, I own,
 Are found anywhere in this dumb-bell-built town.
 In taking its census in municipal matters,
 No senses are found except when one flatters.
 The power behind is a man "down the hill,"
 Who runs the machine, without paying the bill.
 The Street Overseer is kept down in Rondout,
 Top-dressing the streets week in and week out;
 While the streets up in Kingston are left without heed—
 Without the repairs that they very much need.
 The pavement adopted no sensible man
 Would contrive or approve as a suitable plan;

It has proved, in a year from the time it was laid,
 That predictions were true that the tax-payers made:
 The money spent on them, we surely have found,
 Is buried in mud too far under-ground.
 A good, solid bottom—we admit that is right;
 But we certainly want some bottom in sight.
 The coating of mud should be spread out so thin
 That the average horse doesn't fear to wade in.
 We make for the horse—and it's no more than fair—
 This solemn and earnest complaint to the Mayor:
 If the Mayor will make streets that are worthy the name,
 Every horse will unite in a heave to his fame;
 With unanimous voice we will constantly pray—
 No steed or his rider interposing a neigh.

Lignum apis.—SCOTCH COBBLER.

A fig for the days that are gone—
 The days of the Old Year now ended!
 A fig for the good fellow's yarn,
 With the past that alone is blended!
 No rest with the end that's attained,
 Or with moneys securely invested;
 The future had all to be gained—
 The good that's to come, to be tested.
 The boy has his bauble of boots,
 The girl hopes to win a good fellow;
 Past sorrows pulled up by the roots,
 We can all get delightfully mellow.
 While passing from manhood to age,
 There are still many good things before us;
 Old-fashioned good times, we'll engage,
 The future again will restore us.

A health to the New Year! all bright
 With promises radiant and golden—
 With life-scenes more strange to the sight
 Than stories of fable are told in.
 Gather 'round the hospitable board,
 With family, friend or with neighbor;

In revels you well may afford
A brief relaxation from labor.

The newsboy now closes his song—
A proper Anacreon finish:
We hope it will not be thought wrong
His brain with good wine to replenish,
Here's a health to the blue-ribbon men!
Let's all start today reformation;
We'll never drink whisky again,
But live on an apple-jack ration!

MAYOR'S INAUGURAL.

March, 1878.

Gentlemen: My position here has come unsought. Not the less am I mindful of the honor conferred and of the responsibilities imposed by it. I have avowed to myself and I here avow to you and to all interested in the affairs of the city, a purpose to act impartially, honestly and wisely. If I come short of that end either by my own infirmities or by false counsel or the want of your aid, on myself will rest the humiliation; but the graver injuries will be participated by all. On that account I ask your aid and all good advice and co-operation.

At no time in my experience as a man have the people been so watchful of their public servants, or shown a more active resentment against negligence or dishonesty in the public officer. You will not take it amiss if I advise each of you that your conduct will be closely scanned. We may as well here invite a close scrutiny into our conduct and motives. I will not advise a servile fear of popular clamor. An honest purpose to do the right thing will outlive any sudden expression of the people based on misapprehension or prejudice.

With the help of your action, I shall immediately procure a report from each of the city officials having charge of the various accounts, so as to obtain official statements of the present city debt and annual expenditures for the last and preceding years during the existence of the city. I propose to consolidate and tabulate these statements and submit them to the Common Council during the present month with such suggestions as may be thought proper. I am advised that there are certain departments that are conducted on a scale of expense out of proportion to the ability of the people at the present time to pay. If pos-

sible we must reduce the city expenses. There are many families that by failure of income have been obliged to lay aside luxuries, and I am sorry to state the fact that very many are reduced to the necessity of doing without bread, and their blanched faces make a very strong appeal to us to lift up as much as possible the burdens of the government, which belong to all the people alike, and must be borne alike by the rich and the poor.

In my election and in that of some of the members of your body there has worked an influence which is growing on the popular mind. During the last decade there seems to have sprung up a mania for expensive and imposing public structures. I need not enumerate how much of that has existed here in this city. We have not been unlike other places, but we have been too apt copyists of an unwholesome sentiment, which naturally grows into the mind of the public officer to be well housed.

The people are jealous of their public servants who have better houses than they can afford for themselves, especially when the structures impose an onerous burden of debt and tax. City Halls, Alms-houses and school-houses should always be kept carefully within the style of structure of the masses who pay for their building, else they will shortly make the government, charity and education unpalatable to the people.

This city, since its organization, has been, according to my opinion, too extravagant in its public structures. My public expression of this opinion has been lately used to discredit me with the people.

"Still stands the forest primeval; but under the shade of its
branches

Dwells another race, with other customs and language."

The principal thoroughfare between the two ends of the city has been relieved from a hindrance to its proper use as a street by the voluntary and actual abandonment of it by the Plank-Road Company. The toll-gate, after wandering around for a place to rest, has at last been removed. I congratulate your body that a constant source of vexation to our own citizens and to strangers and to your proceedings is disposed of forever. Union avenue has now come fully into the possession of the city for use as an open public street, and I call your attention to the

important questions which will present themselves to your consideration in putting it into proper condition for travel.

I recommend that the grade of the street be at once established for its entire length, having in view its importance as the principal avenue in a large city, such as this one is expected to become.

I also recommend that you at once proceed to fix, either by agreement or by ordinance, the rights which the Horse Railroad Company is to possess in the streets through which the road is operated, and the obligations it owes to the city and to the owners of property. If not fixed, grave difficulties and expensive suits are likely to spring up from time to time. This may be avoided by judicious action in defining the rights and duties of each.

I consider it of great importance that all local feeling of hostility should cease between the two sections of the city. This hostility is the creature of the separate existence of the old villages united under the city charter, and of the manner in which the union was brought about. It is high time it should cease. I have been chosen by the whole city. I am not conscious of a present preference to the people of either part, and I shall endeavor to act impartially to all interests, and my influence will be directed towards preventing any action on your part based upon any consideration of preference as between the two former villages. In my opinion our action should be absolutely controlled by considerations of the general welfare rather than that of individual or location.

Twenty thousand people have committed to us the management of their public affairs. It is a grave responsibility. You would be held as no good citizen if you were not willing to expose your life to protect the liberty and property of your city. By the same consideration you are required to use your wisdom, integrity and time in the proper performance of your present duties.

I now await your further pleasure.

VETO MESSAGE.

June, 1878.

The Mayor returned the resolution relating to the issue of bonds for funding the debt as disapproved for reasons given in the following communication:

To the Common Council:

I return without approval the resolution adopted at your last meeting, providing for the printing of the bonds under what is known as the Funding bill passed at the last session of the Legislature.

I have no copy of the act referred to in the resolution. I know of but one in the city—the one procured in manuscript from the Secretary of State for the purpose of framing the resolution. The bill has not yet been published in the Session Laws or printed in the county papers. I can only speak of it from a single reading. But the subject is understood in its main features. The bill provides for postponing the payment by the city of all its funded debts, accruing during the next four years, for a term of from ten to thirty years.

I have opposed, from the beginning of this discussion, this project. I voted "Against" at the election at which the plan was submitted, and my convictions stand not only unchanged, but rather solidified and strengthened by reflection upon the subject.

I might object that the resolution in question was premature. If the measure is an expedient to bridge over the "hard times," it might fairly be expected that all possible delay would be taken, so that action might depend upon a revival of prosperity. Such a revival is predicted. There are many signs that it is approaching rapidly. My own conviction is that it will commence, so as

to be very perceptible, during the present year, and that, during the four years covered by the projected postponement of debt-paying, we will enter upon a period of very active speculation and that kind of prosperity which is usually denominated "good times." But such periods, which ebb and flow in this and every country, are in a great measure artificial. They are not sure evidences of prosperity or healthy financial condition. Individual and national prosperity is inseparably connected with freedom from debt. An individual and a nation may appear to be prosperous when their debts are the largest. But the signs are deceptive. They are in fact not prosperous, and cannot be. The tendency is to an increase of debt and to ultimate bankruptcy. It is a delusion that postponing debt relieves from the troubles of the country. The war and its expenses, and the luxurious habits which the population fell into from its effects, have produced the debts and loss of property and "hard times." The relief and restoration must come from the payment of the debt, and the new accumulation of savings. This will be reached quickest by the hard lessons of the present. Frugality and industry must be taught; and these lessons are learned slowly in the school of necessity. Economy in government must be taught; and that lesson must come from the people feeling the pressure of the government.

I consider, therefore, that the question lies deeper than mere expediency. There are, no doubt, persons in this and every community, who believe that slight relief will save them from threatened financial embarrassment. Their case is entitled to consideration—to sympathy, even; but I assume that the mass of property liable to pay the debts of the city, is held by persons who have so managed their affairs that they are able to pay now as they ever will be. They have a right to demand that the opportunity shall not be taken from them to clear their property as rapidly as possible from the bonds now resting as an incumbrance upon it. They know it is not the principal of the bonded debt alone that burdens them. There is also the interest working its way into their substance, certainly, rapidly and oppressively. There are also the percentages in collecting and managing the funds, and the large salaries of officers, because they have large amounts to manage. They know, too, they cannot be free from

the curse of debt until they pay or repudiate. They want to see the end approaching. There is danger that postponing the end will produce violent expedients in which the credit of the country and, maybe, its very life, will be periled.

It was an argument used in favor of funding that it would be performed without expense. And yet already a claim has been presented to the Common Council, growing out of the passage of the bill by the Legislature. It is announced that there are others to be added to it. The resolution provides for the printing of bonds, and that expenses, great or little, depending upon the artistic taste of the committee, must be added. It will be found that traveling will enter into the account, and the aggregate will make no inconsiderable addition to debt or tax.

The preparation of the bill for the Legislature, by our committee of citizens, shows a distrust of municipal officers that is warranted by the history of the last ten years. Too many have mismanaged the public funds and failed to make accounts of bonds and money entrusted to them. The Presidents of the banks have, on that account, been entrusted with the sale of the bonds. Whilst I am bound to say that the Presidents of our banks stand high and are considered men of integrity and undoubted responsibility, such has not been the uniform record of bank officers. There have been many surprising illustrations of bad conduct in other places, on their part, so as to shake the confidence of prudent people in any class or condition of men entrusted with the management of large sums when no security is required, as in the case of the act in question.

The Funding bill does not require the Treasurer to give security as a condition to his receiving the moneys—the proceeds of the bonds. This is an anomaly in such matters. True, the act provides for a bond from the Treasurer; but not as a condition to his receiving the moneys. The bank presidents are required to pay him the moneys, and he is directed to furnish a bond to the Common Council. By an experienced lawyer it will be readily perceived that the bill requires amendment, or serious trouble may grow out of it.

It is worthy of consideration that this scheme of funding is applicable to this city alone. It does not apply to the towns which have, up to this time, been, ratably with the city, bound

to pay the largest item of bonded debt. If we adopt the funding principle, it is reasonable to expect that the evil example will spread to the towns, or else the reduction of our rate, compared with the towns, will induce the Supervisors to make reprisals upon the city in the equalization, and we will have put upon us more than our proportion of the county debt accruing in the years covered by the city Funding bill.

It is argued that our present rate of taxation keeps away settlers, who would otherwise join our population and increase our strength and enterprise. In my opinion, debt is more alarming than present rate of taxes.

The citizens' meeting, at which the funding schemes were discussed and matured, voted a resolution to the effect that, until the funded debt of the city were fully paid, no bonds should be issued by which a new debt was created. This action recognized the evils of debt. It was dictated by wisdom. In the bill passed, it is provided that the debt shall not be increased except upon a vote of a majority of the taxable inhabitants. It is the fact that every item of the present debt has been created with the approval of the people or their acquiescence at the time. The people are frequently as eager for debt to be paid in the remote future, as they are eager to postpone the payments when they accrue. Constitutions and laws are necessary to restrain the power to create debt. This law does not do it, and in this respect fails to meet the wishes of those who suggested and matured it.

The reduction of the rate of interest provided for in the Funding bill, from seven to six per cent., is delusive. The existing bonds draw interest at the rate of seven per cent., payable once each year at the time when the moneys derived from the annual tax-levy ordinarily came into the treasury. The new bonds are to draw interest at the rate of six per cent., payable semi-annually. A half year's interest must, on that account, be levied in advance, and must be kept on hand in the Treasury. It is not a difficult problem in figures to show that the actual difference to the taxpayer is too small a fraction of one per cent. to be taken into account by practical financiers.

I may as well anticipate here arguments which have been largely used and will yet be vigorously urged. The city is los-

ing population, it is said, for the want of employment, and many of the people are suffering for bread for the want of some business—manufacturing or otherwise—to furnish them labor. My answer is that it is no proper function of government to furnish labor for the people. The government should not encourage or discourage enterprise. The people should be left to themselves. Observation will soon demonstrate that the people will look out for their own interests better than the government can. Interference by legislation with business, deranges rather than regulates. The government should be kept within the strictest limits—only providing from day to day for the necessary expenses of the maintenance of law. The people can then be trusted to regulate their own business, and in this country pauperism should be but little known.

It is not this city alone that is losing population. The tendency at present is to draw population from the centers upon the soil. That tendency is healthful. The soil for the last ten years has been neglected. All the young and vigorous population have been drawn toward the cities, where fortunes were apparently being made in trade—where large salaries were paid by insurance, railroad and manufacturing companies and by banks. This is now changed. The land will always furnish a living. It is not necessary for the young man to go West. In this county there are plenty of farms now unoccupied or poorly worked that will furnish a good living to an industrious family, and a surplus to market besides. It is not unhealthy that institutions which are uncalled for and which yield no public good, should be abandoned in the cities, and that the workmen or idlers about them should be driven back to the soil.

The city government should not be treated as a scheme of colonization. We are bound to provide a good government for those who choose this city for their home. We will not invite or repel settlers. If they cast their lot amongst us, we should give them an opportunity, in security and without interference, to pursue by honest effort their aim of life.

I am not unmindful that a majority voted at the last city election in favor of the Funding scheme. I do not want to seem indifferent to the popular will. I am not indifferent to public

favor. But I think there were many false impressions on the popular mind, controlling the expression at the election. If the vote had been upon the question of repudiating instead of funding, I fear the majority would have been as largely in the affirmative. As it was submitted, it drew favor from two directly opposing interests—from those who wanted temporary relief from taxes, and from those who had money to lend and wanted it kept or placed in the city securities. But there was a very respectable minority who wanted to keep the public faith and to clear off the public incumbrances from their property. Their vote was dictated by public policy and by an attachment to principles of good government. A scheme of the kind proposed should be adopted with substantial unanimity. It should be considered wrong for the city to be in debt, and a majority vote is no reason to do wrong.

It has been claimed, I think, without considering the terms of the law, that the Common Council have no discretion, and that the statute is mandatory. That does not seem to me to be the purpose of the Legislature. The Funding bill authorizes the city of Kingston to borrow the money to pay the funded debt accruing within the next four years. It then provides that this power shall not be exercised unless, at a vote provided to be taken, the majority shall be in favor of the measure. The power has thus been conferred, and only became operative upon the election, and it is yet to be exercised by the Common Council. It is a subject of grave importance. I have given it careful consideration in view of all the arguments that could be made for and against it. I commend the reconsideration of the question to your careful attention.

MAYOR'S MESSAGE.

March, 1879.

To the Common Council:

The debt of this city is composed of the following items:

Rondout & Oswego R. R. Bonds.....	\$304,506 00
Alms-house Bonds	15,000 00
City Hall Bonds	80,000 00
Wallkill Valley R. R. Bonds.....	169,200 00
Funding Bonds	68,000 00
<hr/>	
Total	\$636,760 00

This is exclusive of the city's share of the county debt, which now amounts to the sum of \$1,094,900.

The ordinary expenses of the city the last year have amounted to the sum of \$32,114.63.

This sum, as appears by the record of the Clerk which is transmitted herewith is somewhat less than any previous year since the city was incorporated.

The Alms-house has received this last year the amount allowed by the charter, \$13,000, which would seem from the report of the Commissioners of Alms as the same has been submitted to the Common Council, to be, with the sums received from the Exercise fund, sufficient for the operations of the Commissioners. It is all they are now entitled to by law, and must, until the law is changed, be made to cover all their expenditures.

The rate of tax the last year was reduced to about one and one-half per cent. This rate can, unless the manner of rating property in the city be changed, or some extraordinary expenditure occurs, be reduced to one per cent. It should be reduced to

that rate. A higher rate is injurious to the interests of the community, and acts as an incubus upon business and enterprise.

The different boards of education in the city should confine their expenditures to such a sum as will reduce the school-rate to one-quarter of one per cent. It should not be more than one-quarter of the rate of the public burdens for all other purposes, else a spirit of opposition to schools may spring up that will endanger the whole system and send us back to the old rate-bill system, in operation before the passage of the present school law.

There is no good reason for a gloomy view of the city's condition. It is an encouraging sign of the times that the members of the Common Council for the last year have willingly and faithfully attended the meetings and the business of the day, and that they should have given to their duties their earnest, honest and intelligent attention without compensation. It is encouraging that citizens of good character and intelligence in every ward in the city have been willing to accept nominations. It is encouraging that the contests for aldermen have been the warmest contests that have taken place at any of the polls at the recent city election. It shows that all the people of the city are conscious of the importance of a good administration. While such a condition of the public mind exists it is not likely that maladministration will be suffered for a very long time. It also carries with it the fact that the vigilance which is shown at elections will be directed to the conduct of the successful candidates in the scrutiny of their official conduct.

The standing committees of your body form an important element in your action. I recommend that each standing committee have a place of meeting in the City Hall and that the hour before each meeting of the Common Council be devoted, whenever possible, to committee work. The business thus matured in the committees will be handled with more intelligence in the Common Council, and the proceedings of the whole body will be greatly simplified and improved.

A standing rule by which every resolution for street improvement or otherwise incurring expense should first go to a standing committee would check what, at times, operates as an abuse—the wholesale adoption of resolutions by log-rolling.

I want to inculcate the general lesson of soberness and steadi-

ness in public administration. It is the only practically safe course. The true policy is to appropriate within the income, and to incur no public debt. It is the only legal course and should be strictly followed by every city officer.

The annual report of the treasurer is very flattering to your conduct of the last year, in adherence to this maxim. Last year we ran upon a deficiency and had to borrow before we could pay the county. The treasurer now reports that he has paid the county out of the tax-levy our quota of the county charges, and has a balance on hand, apparently sufficient to take us through the year and until taxes again come in.

I submit herewith the report of the Chief Engineer of the Fire Department. It shows the present available materials on hand for the extinguishment of fires. It seems that there is a growing tendency in cities to change the volunteer system into a paid system. This tendency comes from the necessity of having skilled management of the steam fire engines, and from the fact that the membership of the fire companies has fallen very much into the control of a class of young men who seem to take more pleasure in destroying than preserving property. Nominations for membership ought to be carefully scanned by the Common Council, good character should be absolutely required of every member of the department. Our citizens generally turn out to a fire, and a spirit ought to be encouraged that will fill our volunteer companies with good and intelligent men—interested in protecting the property of every citizen. I see no reason why an efficient volunteer fire department cannot be maintained in this city.

The total number of fire alarms the last year was fifty-three; of which thirty-two were in the Eastern department, and twenty-one in the Western department.

I have the last year closely observed the conduct of the Aldermen of the different wards. Their fidelity and intelligence in mastering the subjects committed to their charge in the various committees, and their discussion of measures in the Board entitles them to a word of praise. Liable as they constantly have been to the suspicion of being influenced by selfish considerations, I wish here to give my testimony to the effect that they have uniformly shown a vigilance in the public interests as far as can be expected, removed from any improper yielding to the solicita-

tions of individuals. It is to hoped this will continue. It is a pleasant thing to make gratuities but it should not be done with the public moneys. The moneys of the city are to be administered in trust for the whole body of the taxpayers within the strict letter of the charter, under which every officer must act.

NOTES BY A KINGSTONIAN ABROAD.

[From the Kingston Leader,]

THE BLARNEY STONE.

Some few years ago in a society of some men and women, a young lady of the party, gifted in speech, and sometimes careless of her gifts, said, "I have kissed the Blarney stone." At the time I accepted her statement as true.

Since then, I rode from Cork to Blarney, the distance stated by the driver as nine miles, but really only six. I got down from the jaunting car at the village, and on foot ascended the bluff upon which stands Blarney Castle, once owned, as was said, by a McCarthy.

In the rear of the Castle was a party of young men and women—three of each, natives of the "Green Island." Without appearing to listen, I heard speak the tallest of the young men, as he was interesting the others, describing the Castle. "My uncle kissed the Blarney stone, which you see there," he said, as he pointed to the lintel of the window in the third story of the Castle.

The lintel was broken near the middle and was held by iron clamps to the walls above. "He was let down," he said, "by his heels, from the parapet above until his mouth reached the stone, which you see is about five feet below the top of the coping. When he had kissed the stone he was again drawn back by his heels, upon the parapet."

I looked and listened and then I thought, must I reject the statement, in former years made in my presence by the young

lady, or had she in fact been so bold as to trust her life to the uncertain holding of her heels?

Dec., 1886.

THE NATIONALITY OF SLANG.

It is not very easy to tell nationality by appearance and manners. Until they speak you are very apt to think that people are alike the world over.

Going from Dublin to London, one would likely take the nine o'clock boat from the "North Wall," cross the Irish sea and take the train at Holyhead about 3 p. m. This would bring you to London at bedtime.

As your train approaches London, it happens, as in approaching any large railroad terminus, the cars are more and more crowded. At every station a new exaction is made upon the space, until the seats and standing room are all taken.

I speak of a trip on this route at the close of the Christmas festivities in England last year. Our compartment (2d class) was comfortably filled the whole journey. As we came within a few miles of London, the spaces in the seats were packed full; the packages were heaped and crowded and sat on; laps were occupied and every available space was apparently taken.

At the last stop there appeared at the door a tall man, aged about sixty, not stout, but coarse-boned and long-armed. He had an honest look, and was a house-keeper; for in his hand he held by the neck a turkey, dead but not plucked. It was dangling in its feathery immensity. It looked too large to be crowded in the compartment with the owner, who was undoubtedly taking it to town to regale a large family not often treated to such a luxury.

The guard looked in the compartment and bade the passenger enter. The old man stood at the door with his great turkey and seemed to hesitate. He did not see his way. He finally crowded in and disposed of his tall and bony form in a sort of tumble-down fashion amongst the passengers packed in before he came.

This seemed to fill the bill. One would have said this is the *ultima thule* of accomodation. But there is an old maxim of omnibuses: "There is always room for one more." After some delay, the one more came. It was a young woman—the first of that sex that had applied for admission to our compartment, which allowed smoking. She stopped at the open door. She stood beside the guard and seemed confronted with an impossibility.

I was sitting next the open door, and, as all the passengers, was striving my best for good humor. I said, as spokesman for all, "by all means come in; we have abandoned all struggle for comfort." There was, at this jest, a laugh, which at first seemed an additional restraint upon the young woman's purpose to enter the car. But she had no alternative; there was no other resource left her, and she secured a standing place and stood crowded against the door as it closed against her person, and the train slowly pulled out from the station.

The situation was grotesque, but the discomforts seemed to create no anger—no feeling of resentment. Each one had before him the Great North Western terminus, the friendly greeting, the warm supper and the going to bed. Minor discomforts were ignored. The young woman treated an invitation to sit down as a kindly jest, and smiled as not offended.

All this which had passed marked no nationality. They were occurrences that the people of any of the best favored nations might experience in travel.

It was amid a conversation that had become general and familiar as among acquaintances that produced the test of nationality. A young man, speaking to his companion, said, "Did you catch on?" He was at once disclosed. I reached out my hand and grasped his and said, "Let me greet a New Yorker. I know you by your slang."

He admitted the correctness of my conclusion, and proved to be successfully engaged in London introducing one of the results of American ingenuity to the people of England, the best appreciators of ingenuity of any people in the world.

Dec. 15, 1886.

THE SNUG LITTLE ISLAND.

The water surrounding the island which is composed of England, Scotland and Wales, has produced very marked results in the history of the people, its inhabitants. They are a great people for boating. They cannot reach any shore sailing from their own, unless they cross a water channel, which is usually rough so as to produce seasickness and most of the time dangerous to other than the staunchest craft.

The necessities of the people have made them skilled navigators, and what is more to the purpose, made them skilled ship-builders. They own the ships mostly that do the carrying to and from the island, and they have wonderfully mastered the control of the waters which lash the rocks upon the coast all around them.

It has so happened that in the last three hundred years England has mingled into the wars on the Continent, taking at times a brilliant and decisive part in battles; but during all that time no army of foreign soldiers has obtained a successful footing upon the island. The effort has been made by the Spanish, the French and the Dutch, but one after the other the expeditions failed. The revolution brought about by William and Mary might be cited as an exception, but it is not. That revolution was the work of an English party, and its success was achieved by English troops.

This immunity from successful invasion is not from the inherent strength of the English standing armies; it does not come from the special bravery of her troops, nor does it come from her coast defense, or her armorplated ships. Her defence is a barrier interposed by nature. It is the turbulent water channel surrounding the island, and the effect which is produced upon the hostile army attempting to cross over the channel for invasion.

Historians all agree as to the fact that one attempt after another to invade England has failed. The fleets carrying the armies have been dispersed in mid-channel or driven back by the English ships or when in sight of the hostile shores have suddenly and as if by some magical influence been repulsed.

English historians are especially emphatic in attributing these repulses to the valor of the English soldiers, and to the terror excited by their appearance with scarlet jackets and expanded chests.

It is singular that the real cause has been heretofore unknown or intentionally disguised. It is now known by statistics that fifty per cent of passengers crossing the channel from the continent to England, even on the very comfortable ships provided, fall sick, some in a most violent manner. This percentage when the sea is disturbed by wind increases to nearly one hundred per cent. There is on record an exceptional case where all the passengers took the malady excepting one.

It is the rule, you thus see, for people in good health, traveling by the comfortable passenger ships, to become *hors du combat*. How must it be with an invading army, packed on board transports, tossed about for several hours on the chopping seas; unused to the waves and unaccustomed to the frightful smells between the decks. I care not how bold the soldier. He may be just from Gascony, full of oaths, and boastful of his prowess and eager to show it to an admiring world for his own glory and the glory of France. He falls powerless before the dread destroyer of his courage.

In support of my position, I invoke here the experience of persons who have been prostrated by seasickness, and I ask their testimony, whether they were fit to march against opposing forces up a hostile shore. I ask them whether they felt much like leading a forlorn hope in an attack upon the enemy's breastworks. Wasn't it rather like leading a forlorn hope to the side of the vessel and throwing themselves out into the sea? Did not all the braggadocio ooze out, as it were, and leave them limp, helpless and retiring? "Would not our army in Flanders" cease swearing and turn to priestly consolation?

It is surprising that all the historians have overlooked the real cause, which, when once disclosed, so clearly explains to all the world why the Britishers hold on so tightly to "That Snug Little Island."

Dec. 20, 1886.

THE LORD MAYOR OF LONDON.

By an ancient charter, the city of London has a Lord Mayor. The city of London mentioned in the charter, and which has yet its Lord Mayor, is not the one we refer to in our mind as the London of today. Chartered London is within the present overgrown city, which we understand and speak of as London. It contains about 75,000 of the upwards of 4,000,000 inhabitants of London as it is known to the commercial world. It would seem to be an insignificant town, but it is not. The heart of Great Britain throbs there. Religion is represented by St. Paul's, finance by the Bank of England, and the Stock and Royal Exchanges, the general offices of the post and telegraphing and the expressing of packages and baggage are there. It is the center of business. It is bounded by the old walls and city gates, Ludgate, Bishopsgate, Aldersgate and the Thames, from Blackfriars Bridge to the Tower.

The Lord Mayor, during the business hours of the day, has in his domain an unusual throng of people, doing immense transactions in money and goods. At night, too, there is the hum of traffic that never ceases. The streets within the old walls are never at rest. The activities go on during the fogs of the midday and the dimly lighted fogs of midnight. The work may be done by other toilers, but it goes on all the same.

Outside of Old London, the domain of the Lord Mayor, the streets and inhabitants have parochial governments, the vestrymen of the established church. It thus happens that a year ago one traversing the streets could find a snow line of the old city; the snow, removed from the streets of Old London, was permitted by the more economical parish governments to remain, the streets being foundering with lumps of slush and ice.

The dignity of the office of the Lord Mayor is known and recognized the world over. His yellow coach is a marked object and attracts the eye. It forms part of the procession on state parades. It is an essential feature when the Queen moves through the city. In the social world, he is the chief. The annual dinner of the Lord Mayor is not only attended by the local magnates, but is so taken, that the people who can't sit down to the table, may yet view it, as they do in immense

crowds from the streets. The guests are conspicuous to the throng of common people, while they go through the courses and deliver their post-prandial eloquencies, by means of the table being so arranged that they are completely disclosed through the glass windows which surround them on two or more of the sides.

Notwithstanding the dignity and distinction of his office, the Lord Mayor is not entirely free from official woriments or domestic embarrassments, as will be properly illustrated by the following veritable story as applicable to one of those succeeding to that office, during the reign of Her Majesty, the present Queen:

A public celebration at Paris seemed to demand for its proper observance the presence of the Lord Mayor of London, and he was accordingly invited to attend. When the fact was made known at the domestic hearthstone, the wife of the Lord Mayor, whose name was Mary, pleaded to accompany her husband to Paris to witness the celebration. The Lord Mayor objected, not so much to the society of his wife on the visit, as to being encumbered with the necessary baggage and the annoyance reasonably to be expected, on the journey, from Custom House inspectors. The wife promised to reduce her baggage to the smallest possible allowance. The husband still insisted that, while in Paris, she would be tempted to make purchase of the finery so lavishly displayed there in the shop windows. In such case the annoyance of the Custom House people would be ten-fold and would be added to by the fact that the duties would have to be computed and paid; as it would be out of all character that a person of the dignity of the Lord Mayor should be denounced as a smuggler.

But the Lady of the Mayor solemnly promised not to be tempted to purchase the least little article. It was upon this promise that the Lord Mayor and his lady set out together to make the visit to Paris. We will not follow them in that city, but take up the subject as it is again presented when the steamer, returning from Boulogne to Folkestone. It was then Mary said to her husband, "Father, I could not resist the temptation to buy some of the most beautiful of laces I saw in a shop at Paris; that is every bit I did, and I couldn't help it, they were so cheap."

She requested her husband to dispose of her precious purchase

in his pocket. The bundle was not large, truly, but the Lord objected for reasons that are familiar to men. They abominate packages in the pockets. It destroys the fit of the clothing and the symmetry of the shape and appearance of the man.

The ingenuity of the woman then discovered the proper thing. It was to dispose of the laces in the crown of the hat—a superbly capacious silk beaver, worn by all English gentlemen in public position; and it was there, with the consent of the Lord Mayor, deftly arranged, so as not to soil the lace, and little to interfere with the wearing of the high hat.

While this arrangement was perfected so skillfully to bring the French laces into an English household, the good people of Folkestone were making plans to bring confusion upon our Lord Mayor. They resolved to give him a fit reception upon his landing from the steamer; they engaged a band of music and marched to the wharf where a suitable platform had been erected, upon which the distinguished personages could deliver speeches of welcome and acknowledgement, in full view of the concourse of spectators, gathered by martial music and the name of this most distinguished dignitary from Great London.

The Mayor ascended the platform; he bowed a most cordial salutation to the multitude; he removed his ample and shining beaver from the noble head of his dignified personage, and then! then there fell round his brow and down upon his shoulders the elaborate folds of the delicate fabric of the beautiful French laces.

Dec. 16, 1886.

TABLE D'HOTE.

The title of my subject is in French, not that I prefer that language, but because there is no English synonym. It will be familiar to the eye of a person experienced in traveling. It will be sufficiently introduced to the uninformed reader by saying it is something to eat.

Eating, rudely followed where it is employed simply to appease hunger, and where all food has a delightful flavor to a palate and stomach that craves it to sustain life, becomes a science where it is

put in along with the methods adopted to make life as enjoyable as possible. When eating is regulated by our means, it is not often excessive, and the methods are of little consequence. But when eating is not limited by the means it is often overdone, and there comes in requisition a careful marshaling of all the forces—to make it, as the Mikado would have it, so that "the punishment fits the crime." It then becomes a science. It comes to the front rank amongst the subjects which interest the human race.

We take our title from the French language, because the people speaking that language have kept in advance of all the others in the science of eating, and the best cooks are usually employed from France, and the best methods of serving are borrowed from the customs of that very cultured nation.

Amongst those who eat scientifically, the first eating of the morning is coffee or chocolate and rolls and butter. This may be taken at the bedside before rising, or after dressing and before leaving the room or dwelling. This is the *dejeuner*, or as we call it, breakfast. The second is the noon-day meal. It is called *dejeuner a la fourchette* or luncheon, and meat or fish is an essential ingredient. It is taken by the men at a place convenient to their business, if it be away from the home, and by the ladies where they may be in shopping or other expeditions.

The principal meal is served after business hours, at the closing of the day. This is Table D'Hote. It is the principal spread, and calls forth every energy of the domestic pocketbook, and all the ingenuity and skill of the housekeeper. It is served at an appointed hour of the day and it is expected that every member of the household will be promptly in place at the exact time. It is a great excellence to have it served when freshly cooked and hot. This largely contributes to its success.

I stop and dwell upon the last point, because it is here where the name Table D'Hote has been misapplied in our American hotel management. It is not in good form to serve Table D'Hote from one to six. Whose palate takes kindly to a soup or roast that has been standing after cooking from one to five hours? This departure from the true sense of the service is so distinct a variation as to mar the entire method. Table D'Hote owes its excellence in the family, among the invited

guests, and at the Hotel to being picked and eaten when it is ripe, so to speak.

On the 30th day of December, 1885, I arrived in Brussels. I had then tested table d'hôte as it was served on the line of the tourist through Ireland and England, and was prepared to make a comparison with the same service among a French speaking people. I selected the "Hotel du Grand Monarque," located in the business part of the city, and catering to the native travel rather than to tourists. In answer to the inquiry as to whether I would be at Table D'Hôte, and the statement of the appointed hour, which was a quarter past five—about an hour after dark in that latitude and season of the year—I answered yes.

I was prompt and saw the assembling of the guests. I was shown my seat, while most of the others dropped into theirs, as if they were familiar with the table. There were about forty ladies and gentlemen nearly equal in number. It did not exceed five minutes, so prompt was the movement of the people, when all had subsided into quiet waiting for the service. The guests sat at a table in the form of an L, occupying both sides. The courses were served from the head of the table down each side. They had been prepared for a number of guests assembled as for a party that had been invited. It was divided into portions and as the silver platter passed down the line each guest helped himself to the part allotted as his share—there was thus no waste.

There were fourteen courses served, including sweets, within an hour, which would allow about four minutes for a single course, if the proportion of time was equal for each.

There was much to commend in the practically good results of the method here adopted for eating. I still refer in my mind to that dinner as the most satisfactory entertainment in the shape of eating during the time I was absent from the shores of America. It is of course impossible to bring back the enjoyment of food, which is afforded by the boy's appetite, but I cannot help leaving on record a word of gratitude for the pleasure afforded by the first and best Table D'Hôte among the people who speak French.

There is among all peoples an obstinate fondness for the ways of their own countrymen. I do not speak disrespectfully

of this disposition. It may evidence patriotism. It may evidence selfishness. Its praise or censure depends upon how you view it. But I put here a decided protest against the exhibition of this obstinacy by the tourist, who feels himself called upon to resist the methods of eating adopted by the people, selected by him to be improved. Such an one sat down to table d'hote with a party of fifteen. He refused the soup and fish and the nice tid-bits in their order, until the platter with the *filet du boeuf* came to him in its transit. He then helped himself to its entire contents and proceeded to make his dinner. He was fond of beef—an Englishman. He abominated the methods of the Table D'Hote. He spoiled the entire dinner of all the others, while he was vindicating his notions of English methods of eating. He was such a national enthusiast in table d'hote as is described in American doggerel of revolutionary days:

"In the first place, John Bull's the nation, named,
The name of beef-eaters the people take;
Throughout the world their prowess is proclaimed,
For cooking and for eating of beefsteak.
And when their happiness is past control,
They kill an ox and roast him whole."

Jan. 5, '87.

OUR BAGGAGE IN THE CUSTOM HOUSE.

To the tourist the Custom House inspector is an enemy. To circumvent his examination; to pass in spite of his vigilance some dutiable article, is considered a triumph, not only justifiable, but praiseworthy. Viewed, however, from the position of a fair-minded person—one willing to be just to his fellow men, the inspector is to be commiserated.

I propose to speak in his behalf—to say a word in his favor, in the midst of the almost unanimous voice of detraction.

His life is not a happy one. He is charged by his government, and under the vigilant directions of his superiors, to make every effort to prevent goods that are chargeable with duties from passing unassessed into his country. To do this he must examine

the boxes, packages, trunks and baggage of all travelers who undertake to cross the borders. While doing this, he must represent the friendliness of his country, inviting and giving a kindly greeting to the stranger, which is the settled policy of commercial nations today.

The baggage of the traveler contains his soiled linen and underclothing—usually the accumulation of a week. Into this unsavory mess the inspector is compelled by law to handle, to look and to smell. It is there where he has a right to expect that the prohibited articles are lodged and seereted.

Approaching a foreign shore, it is not unusual for passengers to take counsel of one another as to their common enemy, the inspector. It so happened about a year ago, as I was voyaging towards Liverpool, sitting besides a rugged and energetic man, he addressed me in clearly defined Scotch accent, "I judge from your talk and manner that you are a lawyer," said he. "I would like to ask your advice about the Custom House regulations," he added, before I had admitted the accusation as to my professional employment.

It was the part of good nature, to admit on my part my peculiar fitness, and to lend myself with good grace and with an honest effort to aid my new formed acquaintance to elude the British government and its emissaries, as far as I possibly might, with my legal furniture.

I found that my man was not a Scotchman, but a native of Cumberland county, in the north part of England, and had, for about twenty-five years, been settled in Kansas, starting his life work with the beginning of that state, had grown into importance as a large land owner there, and was returning to visit the scenes of his youth, and to show to the members of his family that had remained in the home nest, the thrift of the emigrant amongst the enterprises of the West.

I told him that English custom laws were simpler than those of our United States; that there were comparatively few dutiable articles on the list of the English laws; that tobacco and spirits were principally looked for, and he would be kindly treated and greeted, if he showed up boldly, and nothing was found in the shape of fire-arms or dynamite, as to which there was then, and had been all the year, a very sensitive state of mind amongst

the English officials, growing out of explosions that had happened in the Tower and the Parliament House.

He seemed relieved in mind by my assurances of good reception, and gave me to understand that he was all right. His gratitude was distinctly expressed, in that usual fee of the lawyer on the street, by frequent invitations to join the Kansas land owner at the bar.

By one of the curious coincidents of travel, I met the Kansas farmer on the steamer, returning home. "It was in order," I said, "to hear his experience with the Custom House inspector." "He was the most villainous ruffian I ever met," were the words of the very beginning of the answer.

In the magnificent kindness of the great heart which had expanded with the increasing acreage of his landed possessions, my Kansas friend had selected the best specimen of canned fruits, to introduce with all their freshness of preserved flavors in the home circle of his English relatives. He had also, to gratify the peculiar tastes of a specialist, of the ichthyologist variety at considerable risk and trouble, captured one of the most venomous of the Kansas snakes, which he had preserved in spirits and carefully bottled and boxed to present as a cabinet specimen of the New World.

Here were suggestions of dynamite. Every particular hair in the mane of the British Lion, stood erect at sight of them, disclosed in the baggage of the Kansas farmer. The package containing the snake was carried at arm's length, the whole length of the warehouse and placed apart on a high shelf. The fruit cans were set apart. Their form was unusual and the declaration was of a suspicious character. It was necessary that the cans (tin) should be opened and the contents tested.

It was in vain the farmer protested, that such an act would destroy the fresh flavor of the fruit. It was in vain, irritated by the insolence and immovable persistence of the inspector, and his refusals of ample bribes, that the farmer declared that he would appeal to the Prime Minister, and the Queen, and the President of the United States and his cabinet. The cans were opened. They were fruit cans, truly. The inspector was appeased. He began to have confidence in the whole race of Kansas farmers. He had the cans again carefully resealed at the expense of the British Empire.

On the morning of the second day after the arrival of my friend at the Custom House, the box containing the snake was carefully opened and examined and passed free of duty on the English soil, with words of good cheer and well wishes from the Custom House inspector; and the threat of an appeal to Uncle Sam was retracted.

The story teaches, that argument and threat and a proper mingling of oaths sometimes, and sometimes a bribe properly bestowed, will overcome the stoniest heart of the Custom House inspectors, and proves, what I set out to establish, that they are a lot of right jolly good fellows—in the society of the barmaid when the day's work is done.

Jan. 5, '87.

ART AND ARTISTS.

The Chinese and the French have for years claimed the superiority in art. Unfortunately we do not know enough of the merits of the Chinese to judge between them as rivals. The peculiarity of the Chinese in painting and pottery has been so exactly imitated by the French that connoisseurs frequently purchase the French imitation and believe themselves and make their admiring friends believe that the articles are genuine Chinese.

We can't today say which are the better, the Chinese genuine or the French imitations. All we do know is that French imitations are always sold as the Chinese genuine—to the great advantage of the purchaser, if so be that the imitations are the best goods.

The Emperor Napoleon III. inaugurated a policy, distinctly different from that of the Emperor of China. He invited strangers. He beautified the streets of Paris, and opened to free visits the public parks and picture galleries. He made it a national creed, which the whole people gradually adopted to induce travelers from all nations to come through open doors into the French territory and inspect and purchase the wares, to examine the art and artists of France, in full view.

For this purpose the gallery at Versailles, the Louvre, the Luxemburg were thrown open to the tourist, affording a walk of from fifteen to twenty miles through corridors hung with paintings and halls set out with statuary, in which the original and plastic copies of the old masters, and the best specimens of modern art was exhibited. The Salon was opened annually from May to October where the living artist was allowed to compete for public honors and offer private sales.

It is said that 80,000 tourists visited the public galleries the last year. It is evident that art students in great numbers are all the time assembled in Paris, where they are allowed to copy from the back of Germaniens; from the gorgeous tints of Rubens; from the admirable flesh colors of Bouguereau, and to live the Bohemian in the Latin Quarter.

In art, the French are certainly not afflicted with prudery. On New Year's day of last year two Americans just after twilight entered the Tuileries gardens. It was light enough to see the outlines of a man—a nude man, upon a pedestal of marble. It was placed there to give an artistic complement to this public park where all tourists are supposed at some time in their visit to promenade. Anthony Comstock, the celebrity of a certain kind in our State of New York, had had no hand in the selection of the figure or its placing there. The statue would have offended his statutory existence. As an ornament in Central Park, it would have been condemned to seizure and destruction.

It was the first nude statue of a man I had ever seen in a public park, and I paused to contemplate the figure. My eye was running over the proportions of limb and feature, struggling with the duties of a critic, when my companion, the other American, said, "Come away, some one will see you!" He was educated of Anthony Comstock and our state statutes against the nude.

I make comparison here with London. No painting or statue of nude man or woman has a place in the National Gallery, or in any of the public parks. To the eye of the public, no nation is more pure, if that be the proper word to use, than England. Excluding the disclosures lately made in the courtroom of the private concealed life of the Englanders, men and women, the tourist of the most prudish form could find no offense while in the streets,

public museums and national parks. It is necessary to go by train to Sydenhams to the Crystal Palace, of a former exposition, to pay a moderate admission fee, to see there in plastic cast Hercules, as made by Praxiteles and an infinite variety of the nude in painting and in marble of modern realistic art.

"Juan was taught from out the best editions
Expurgated by learned men, who place
Judiciously from out the school boy's vision,
The grosser parts; but fearful to deface
Too much their modest bard, by this omission,
And pitying sore his mutilated case,
They only add them all in an appendix,
Which saves, in fact, the trouble of an index."

Art and artists form a part of surplusage after necessities are obtained. It is not a part of what has been in polities called "infant industries." A people, struggling with the feeling of forest trees and a rigorous climate, like our early settlers, give little time and little attention to either art or artists. It is of a later period when leisure comes with accumulation of wealth, that the longing for the work of art can enter into a country's achievements. The nation must become in the first place great in wars, great in the industrial pursuits, before the period arrives for greatness in art, or in the celebrity of its artists.

It thus happened that, at the Paris exposition in 1878, the United States presented admirable guns and of the best of reapers and mowers, but made no competition in art matters. Our countrymen were there as critics and inferior critics at that, of the art achievements of other countries. Our Commissioner snarled at the French, and at the realistic school, principally represented by that nation; derided the nude figures in the paintings and statuary, and denounced the immoral tendencies of French art. But it is clearly read between the lines of the report made to our government, that the art in decay in its old home at Rome is in the most vigorous period of its existence at Paris.

We have lately received a contribution to our treasures, as a national souvenir from the French, the Statue of Liberty by Bartholdi, which is now so prominent an object in our harbor of New York. It is a vivid picture of the art and artists of France.

A BOOMERANG JOKE.

To illustrate how unpleasant it is at times to make a practical joke, I give the facts as it occurred.

A New York gentleman and his wife had been to Paris, and were returning home through the Custom House. The baggage had been inspected and passed and the crowd, ladies and gentlemen, were exchanging farewell greetings, before separating from the associations of a steamer's voyage. The gentleman said to the Inspector, pointing to his wife, and intending a harmless jest, "I have reason to believe that that lady has dutiable goods concealed in her clothing."

The Inspector acted on the suggestion, the lady was searched by a woman Inspector in a private apartment and sure enough laces and silks were found, and the gentleman had to pay the duties upon the concealed articles. He is not so fond of fun since, and has learned that practical jests are sometimes Boomerangs.

Dec. 26, '87.

THE CHILD AND THE STARS.

[For the Kingston Weekly Argus.]

Said little child, whose eyes alone
Looked on the stars which nightly shone,
And in the azure saw fit gems
To stud and deck Kings' diadems:

“Tell me, Oh, father, tell me why
There are no stars in mid-day sky?
Last night I saw them shining bright;
To-day there is no star in sight.”

“They all are there,” the father said,
“Just as you left them when in bed
Last night you closed your tired eyes
Upon them shining in the skies.

“None have been lost or hid away,
Through all the hours of the day;
For angel hand keeps them in place,
Within the boundless realms of space.”

Replied the child: “By light of day
Much plainer I can find my way;
Why, then, are stars, so clear at night,
In the light day hid from my sight?”

“And yet, my child, 'tis very true,
The stars sang out from azure blue
The happy morn when first began
Creator's work which ends with man.

“The effulgent sun by day absorbs
The light of those far distant orbs,
And, curiously, the dark of night
Discloses what is hid by light.

“And simple children, surer than
The wise, the proud and learned man,
Thus find by faith the hidden way
In reason’s bright effulgent day.”

Sept. 7, 1887.

ASCIPTION.

[Written for the Kingston Daily Leader.]

When the dark dreams come on—
The dread of ills and pain
That to each day belong;
This thought bring back again:
There's much I cannot feel.

When others' woes make fall
The sympathizing tears;
'Mid wormwood and the gall,
Let this assuage the fears:
There's much I cannot see.

When scandal's voice is heard,
To wreck a home or friend,
'Tis well not every word
Its poisoned shafts can send.
There's much I cannot hear.

To rest in dark and doubt,
May seem, it is not ill,
Though single stars go out,
The stars the skies yet fill.
There's much I cannot know.

The much unfelt, unknown,
All things unseen, unheard,
We'll leave to God alone,
And trust His sacred word.
To Him all things belong.

Feb. 26, 1883.

SEASONABLE DOGGEREL.

All times have had heroes,
There are heroes today,
Colonels, Teddy, our own,
And Bryan, William J.

Some worship Lord "Bobs;"
Some worship Oom Paul,
Who handles the spear
Like the Biblical Saul.

But no times ever gave us;
Nor lived "under the sun,"
Such a hero to worship,
As George Washington.

Feb. 22, 1900.

THE BURNING OF KINGSTON.

Anniversary, October, 1892.

MR. LOUNSBERRY'S ADDRESS.

Hon. William Lounsbury, the President of the Senate House Association, was next introduced and delivered an address in substance as follows:

Amid music and poetry we have heard the tribute of our eloquent fellow citizen (Mr. Schoonmaker) to the eminent men of our historic times, and the tribute of our distinguished poet (Mr. Abbey) to the future of American liberty. It seems that there is left to me in rounding out the observances of the day's celebration only to speak of the present—our own great men of the state and nation.

We are here upon the grounds and by the building that was at one time the Capitol of the State. It had been selected because some man of enterprise, extolling the consequence of the place, had written a letter that fifty persons could be accommodated at the hotels of Kingston. The government of the state was organized here, and one of our citizens was elected Governor. It was an aristocratic assemblage of men and women that lived then in Kingston, proud of their wealth and influence. They were the real Knickerbockers of New York. Why did the government go away from Kingston? Because its prominence in the state awoke the special enmity of the invading army, and they came with arms and torches while the Kingston men were away down the river with Washington's army, and the hostile red coats burnt the gathered harvests, and the barns and houses

and left the people without a cover for themselves, their wives and little ones. Their property was burned and they were homeless; but worse than that, they saw their ambition to become the political centre of the future great state of New York disappear in the smoke and embers of their crops and houses. There was no longer left the hotels to accommodate fifty persons.

I see in front of me today brave men and fair women, representing more wealth than all the men and women of Kingston of 1777, but there is no longer with us the possession of the Capitol, or the management of political powers of the state. We have, however, arisen from the ashes of the revolution and again possess wealth, enterprise and power. Here about me are prominent and great men of the present. There are great men of the present in state and nation, at New York, Washington and Loon Lake and Buzzard's Bay. (Laughter.) I must not neglect the heroes of the hour, James Corbett and John L. Sullivan. I may safely compare Naney Hanks with Aneke Jans. (Laughter.) The great men of the present are at a disadvantage as compared with historic men. You sit here, or will shortly sit, if I go on long speaking, under the shadows of the Catskill mountains. I have walked there, as many of you have, in the dark recesses of the gorges, cut in the mountains by the roaming streams. We have walked amongst towering oaks and bristling pines. We have been conscious of dangers from the wild animals and venomous snakes. We have looked against frowning precipices of broken and jagged rocks. From this distance we look at the same mountains, and all these irregularities have disappeared—the mountain crest and silhouette, is gracefully curved and there is a tinted azure softened by the haze of distance. The same effect is produced when we look back at a distance upon the men of history. Amongst our chieftans of the revolution, there was the thieving army contractor, and the jealousies of rank. We know there was treason. But time has effaced those rough and jagged edges and the horizon is clearly penciled in graceful outlines against the sky, as is that of our Catskills from this distance where we are sitting. A stanza written by an English baron, which has been incorporated in our church hymns, suggests the idea in a noble measure:

"In the Cross of Christ I glory,
Towering o'er the wrecks of time;
All the light of sacred story
Gathers 'round its head sublime."

I can see before me now the tall head of Washington towering above the other chieftains of the revolution as Slide Mountain towers above the other peaks of the Catskills. We have heard that Washington would at times emphasize his earnestness with an oath. (Laughter.) But this and other human infirmities have disappeared from his character as he stands out a man of history—distance has softened into gentle tones all the rough spots, as it has in the view of Slide Mountain, and there they stand as the sun is setting behind them, lit up with crimson and gold and the heavenly blue above. No human pen or pencil can produce this grandeur. It is only made so great by the brilliancy of heaven which illuminates it with its glory.

Mr. Lounsbury's remarks were well received, and were punctuated with laughter and applause.

PUBLIC IMPROVEMENTS.

Address before the Board of Trade, 1893.

“PUBLIC IMPROVEMENTS.”

Was the subject of the toast to which the Hon. William Lounsbury responded. He said:

I am allowed fifteen minutes to speak of public improvements. A longer time was allowed, and properly so, for internal improvements as planned and set out by the well known Anti-Snapper of the Mansion House. I hope it will not be taken out of my time to add my testimony, that the menu provided by Mr. Lasher has done credit to the Board of Trade, to the city, to the occasion and to the author himself. (Applause).

Now please correct your watches by mine. Mine is a stopwatch such as used by ‘bookmakers,’ law bookmakers I mean. I want to be exact because I understand there is an old grievance upon the subject of talking beyond the allotted time. (Laughter.) I see a gentleman at the farther table is holding his watch on me. He will please call out when my time is up. I could not tell without glasses and there is nothing for glasses (laughter) so far as I can see.

Mr. President, I have frequently heard the expression sometimes as a jest and sometimes as a jibe, that Kingston people were so Dutch that they could not see after 4 o’clock. (Laughter.) Whether this is so or not, I hope will be discussed under the head of volunteer toasts by some member of the Holland Society or Winnesook Club of undoubted Dutch lineage. In the Holland Society they banquet every year at from \$10 to \$30 for a plate. In the Winnesook Club they banquet at from \$10 to \$30

without a plate. (Laughter.) They take theirs in a tin cup and want more. (More laughter.)

While this question is undecided we will assume the expression is true—for the sake of argument only. But that does not furnish an adequate cause for the last afternoon train on the U. & D. going out at 3 o'clock and the last afternoon train on the Wallkill going out at 3:05. If the managers of these roads could get their trains out with reasonable promptness, a schedule making five minutes before 4 o'clock the time of starting, would get strangers out of town before this peculiar Dutch blindness comes, and thus save the town from destruction. As it is the trains are run very conveniently for the people of Kingston to do shopping at New Paltz and Phoenicia, (laughter) but very inconveniently for the people of New Paltz and Phoenicia to do shopping in Kingston. The fact is, that notwithstanding the sacrifices Kingston has made for these roads, there is not now in the management of either one a person in sympathy with the merchants of Kingston.

What shall I say of the West Shore Railroad? I do not believe there is a person in the management of that road who could find his way from the station to the Court House without one of Smith's cabs. Why do I say this? Because a road has been organized and nearly constructed connecting the uttermost parts of the city with the West Shore depot. The West Shore Railroad Company has not contributed one cent to aid it, although any one with half an eye can see that it will increase the income of that road \$1,000 a year, by making it easy for people to come and go. The West Shore did not contribute. It was thought it did not know of its construction, until up popped an injunction. It seems determined to make it cost the electric railroad \$1,000 to secure the permission of the West Shore Company to cross its tracks. It has secured the services of two very able counsel. None knows better than they do to make a good case last as long as possible at the expense of the litigants.

The people of Kingston may be blind after 4 o'clock, but they have not been charged with having the blindness of the day before come over to the next, as it evidently does with the West Shore people. For see! the Mayor is in with the trolley people. The chairman of the railroad committee in the Common Council

is attorney for the trolley company. Maybe the West Shore people before the year is out will go down on their knees to the Common Council for the privilege of blocking both the thoroughfares between up and down town with their freight trains until a town meeting of profane people is collected on each side.

The Rhinebeck ferry is another institution. It charges 13 cents for a live man, 13 cents for a corpse and 13 cents for a dressed hog—wonderful uniformity. The Poughkeepsie ferry does this work for half price, and so induces the people from the Ulster county side to trade at Poughkeepsie. The high tariff on our ferry is to protect Rhinebeck people from the extortion of the Rondout merchants. The fact is, the Rhinebeck ferry is operated by long distance telephone from Albany.

Thus far, I seem to be in a complaining mood; but I do not want to be censorious. These are all public improvements and are within the scope of my subject. How could I speak of them otherwise? They are certainly not operated in sympathy with the Kingston merchants and business men. They are not operated by Kingston men.

I thus disclose the logic of my opening. The railroads leading to Kingston, in fact all roads and means of transportation should be kept as much as possible under control of our citizens. Kingston is the largest station on the line of the West Shore. It is the gateway of the Catskills. It was once and soon will be again the leader in business and political influence in the state.

In reviewing this history, it is proper to refer to the fact that it was a creature of Dutch enterprise. From 1614 to 1663 the Dutch were dominant in politics and business. With a landing at Wilbur they had extended settlement through Hurley, Marbletown, Rochester and Wawarsing. In 1777 the place was large enough to lose 311 buildings by a single fire, and the towns of Hurley, Marbletown, Rochester and Wawarsing had a population nearly as large as they have at present. A blast furnace at Napanoch sent out cutlery and steel blooms to Sheffield in England. A tanning and currying factory sent calf skins to the Antilles. One merchant in Green street, in Kingston, frequently imported an entire cargo of New England rum. (Laughter.) Up to the last date there was no dock at Rondout and Delaware county was referred to as being as far from Kingston then as

Darkest Africa is now. The growth of Kingston was from her trading allies in Hurley, Marbletown, Rochester and Wawarsing.

This trade of late years has been declining. It is going from us. It is in the power of the Kingston merchants and business men to retain possession of all their old friends and allies and bring them back to their old family in the Esopus. It is this project that is the main subject of my speaking tonight. Have I not approached it fairly and logically?

The building of a railroad from Kingston to Ellenville is not a new subject. Such a road will shortly be built. It will not cost more than \$200,000. It is a scheme with life today in the hands of people who will not be in sympathy with the merchants and business men of Kingston. It is a project that Kingston is able to handle. Her citizens have adequate means. The material was never so cheap. Labor is plentiful. I am willing myself to lead or to follow in the enterprise. Looking all about me I can find nothing in the field of active enterprise so full of promise of success. I can see nothing that will bring to the projectors so much local gratititude. Whoever has ambition to connect himself with a work in which conquest will make glory can find no better field of labor.

Peace hath her victories no less renowned than war.

OUR FIRST GOVERNOR.

Anniversary, 1894.

The 117th anniversary of the inauguration of George Clinton as first Governor of the state of New York was fittingly celebrated at the Senate House last night. There was a large attendance of citizens and the exercises were of a highly interesting nature. At a few minutes before 8 o'clock the members of Pratt Post, No. 127, G. A. R., headed by a drum corps, marched from their headquarters on Wall street to the Senate House grounds, where the celebration took place. The exercises consisted of music by the drum corps and addresses by Prof. Egbert Lewis and Hon. William Lounsbery, both prominent Grand Army men. Wiltwyck Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, had charge of the celebration in conjunction with Pratt Post and the members of the Chapter were nearly all in attendance. The main address of the evening, delivered by Mr. Lounsbery, was in part as follows:

Ladies and Gentlemen:—I feel flattered by your invitation to speak to you this evening. I shall do so in a line flattering to the place and the people who are your ancestors—the ancestors of the intelligent audience gathered here to commemorate this day—the day most important in the annals of the Empire State. I propose to demonstrate the fact that the settlement by the Dutch in the Esopus was earlier in point of time; was planned with more practical wisdom, was carried on with more business sagacity and led to more beneficent fruition than the settlement by the Pilgrims in Massachusetts Bay in New England.

It was in 1609 that Hendrick Hudson entered the river that

now bears his name, a beautiful river—so straight as to be a direct artery of commerce; so deep as to be an arm of the sea; so long as to be a fit region for an empire; so beautiful and so salubrious as to be an Eden. It is only in later geographical learning that it was called the Hudson. The early settlers for years called it the North River, because the settlers on Manhattan Island distinguished it from the East River. Upon its banks were the settlements in the Esopus of which our City of Kingston was the principal nucleus and Beaverwyck which clustered about Albany.

The settlement in the Esopus is the one of which I speak. It was named after a river in Holland. It was selected for settlement because of the rich lands alluvial of the washing of the mountains upon either side. Commencing in 1814, six years before the landing of the Pilgrims, it grew rapidly. It had a beautiful harbor at the mouth of the Twaalfskill, easily approachable from the back country along the natural descent of that stream, and successful trade with the chief commercial city on Manhattan Island, made a rapid growth in population. It was the chief attraction of the emigrant, and soon outstripped in consequence the other settlements of the New World.

From 1609 to 1663, a period of about half a century, here had been great progress. Settlement had extended to the New Dorp, which is now Hurley, had gone beyond to Marbletown and Wawarsing. The hegira to New Paltz had taken place, the Indians had been subjugated into treaties of peace, farms were under cultivation, schools were inaugurated, the town was fortified, ships went from the settlement on regular voyages so far as the nations then engaged in commerce. It was a happy abode of civilized men and women, with churches and preachers. As peaceful as the Home of Evangeline, painted by the beautiful fancy of the poet Longfellow.

In 1663 the rulers were changed from Dutch to English; but the people did not change. They took no great heed of the difference between the magistrates of the Dutch West India Company and the Duke of York. They went forward marrying and giving in marriage. The young took up the tools which fell from the grasp of the old for another century, which brings us to the new revolution of 1776.

The first fifty years was a period in which the settlement was ruled by a commercial league. The second period was under colonial regulations. The settlers during all this period cared little for polities. They pursued the even tenor of their ways.

The revolt against colonial oppression had its first expression in a protest against a tax on tea. This did not come from the Dutch settlers in the Esopus. They took their tea with solid Dutch comfort, giving little thought to the tax. The merchants of Manhattan made no active effort for free trade. When the British red coats were driven from Boston by their defeat at Bunker Hill and the pressure of the little army of General Washington, they came to New York and landed there without opposition and occupied the city with the acquiescence of the English settlers and without armed resistance from the Dutch merchants. The British officers waltzed with the ladies and the soldiers hobnobbed with the people of the city. New York city took no part in the early struggle for American independence.

The place where we are now gathered was the central point of treason to British control. The Committee of Safety sat here and became the central figure of the confederation of the colonies and the movement towards the creation of the independence of the state under the new constitution.

George Clinton a native of Ulster, was elected the first Governor of the state, and on the 30th day of July, 1777, the Committee of Safety having ascertained his election declared the fact and proclaimed George Clinton the Governor of the State of New York and the Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy, and concluded with the expression "God Save the People." This act was done at Kingston by Kingston men, and this act we celebrate today. It is the most momentous act in the history of the state. Feeble in its inception, it was the beginning of the great Empire State. What great consequences have flowed from it! What beneficent results have sprung from this feeble beginning! Amongst the empires of the world today, the Empire State has achieved a place in the foremost rank. It is the Empire State. I can invite any of its people to sit down with us and participate in the glory of this achievement. But to this City of Kingston is the pride of the beginning. To the settlement in the Esopus is due the glory of the first beginnings of the

great work. Beside it the landing of the Pilgrims ceases to be an important factor. The eloquence of Patrick Henry in the Virginia Assembly had its consequence. The struggle of the continental troops added its share to the sacrifices. The genius of General Washington has its lustre. The signature of John Hancock to the Declaration of Independence is a relic. But above all, for direct consequences for good, stands the deed of our forefathers in Esopus, giving birth to the greatest state in the cluster that gathered about the constitution of the new American republic. The practical outcome of Dutch sagacity was the great factor in this supreme work in the structure of the temple of liberties.

THE WILBUR FAIR OPENED.

The fair at the Church of the Holy Name, Wilbur, was opened on Christmas night with appropriate ceremonies, interspersed with music. Father Ward made an introductory speech. There was a goodly attendance present to hear Hon. William Lounsberry, who was introduced as one of the City Fathers, and spoke as follows:

“Ladies and Gentlemen and my little friends, the children: There is nothing which gives so much pleasure, as the pleasing of others. This fact emphasizes and gives positive proof of the value of the Christmas festivities. They are twice blessed—blessing those who receive and much more blessing those who give. Here are the children with bright faces and the enthusiasm of youth. Here are the parents who feel a thrill of pleasure when the children rejoice.

‘Here woman reigns,
The mother, sister, wife,
Strew with fresh flowers, the narrow way of life.’

“Who can resist the sweet sovereignty of woman—training the young to a healthy citizenship?

“I have been invited here as a City Father—an Alderman of the Eighth Ward. I lately rode in the West Shore train for half a mile through the ward, and looked out upon its surface, broken with rocks, and pierced by a tunnel under yonder high hill. I thought of its three miles in extent, and its three thousand inhabitants—excellent people, inhabiting a goodly territory. If I were King I would want no more and no better people. Friendship is its inhabitant; domestic affection is its inhabitant;

love is its inhabitant.' Those gathered here tonight are of the good people of the country. I wish you Merry Christmas. I commend you to the full enjoyment of this Fair and the festivities that belong to this Holy week of sympathies in charitable work. I have been invited here by Father Ward—the father of this people in their religious works. There is by law no union of church and state. The two functions are not allowed by statute; but they may yet work together in a common cause: "To exalt man's generous aim to all diviner deeds; to chase each partial purpose from his breast; and through the mists of passion and of sense; and through the tossing tide of chance and pain to hold his course unfaltering." They may work together to make a higher grade of citizenship—to make, where the people are the sovereigns, a higher conception of religious duty, and a higher conception of political virtue. They may together aid to preserve the old landmarks of civil and religious liberty conceived by our forefathers when they established the American Union of the states."

Christmas, 1896.

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